Madras University Tamil Series No. 19

"WORDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE"

(A Study in Tamil Linguistics)

BY

R. P. Sethu Pillai, B. A., B. L.

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

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Price Rs. 12.00

437

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7 JAN 1967

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Price Rs. 2.

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FOREWORD

It has been aptly observed that language is both an art and a science. The aesthetics of language, the study of it as an art, as an expression of the human personality in its personal, individual, social, national and human aspects and as a means of communication of one's ideas, sentiments, aspirations, emotions and ideals is the legitimate province of literary criticism. Linguistics, on the other hand, is concerned with the mechanics of expression; with the classification and identification of its component sounds; with the study of the ways in which words get modified according to their function in the sentence; with the construction of the sentence; and finally with the study of the origin, growth and development of its vocabulary. In short, phonology, accidence, syntax and vocabulary are the four wheels of any scientific study of language.

The following pages are primarily concerned with the fourth aspect of linguistics, namely, vocabulary. Even in the study of the word-treasures of a language, there is more than one line of investigation. For instance, one may consider the origin of the words: whether they are native to the language or have been borrowed from some other tongue; if the latter, what modifications the word has undergone during the process of its naturalization in its new environment, and what general principles can be deduced therefrom. One, may again take for study, how the speakers of a language meet new needs and new experiences by coining new words out of the word material that has been their heritage. Or again, one may as the present writer has attempted, try to find out how the significances of words have undergone changes in the course of centuries.

Words are the current coin of a language. And as it happens in regard to coins, their value may fluctuate, the words may get worn out and debased in circulation, or they may even go out of currency. Words may be, in current polite usage, may be conversational only, may be scientific, may be dialectal. But, all these words are quite alive. There are, however, other words which are not so much alive, which are a trifle old-fashioned, archaic, poetical, literary; or obsoloscent,

going gradually out of use, or even quite dead and buried, no longer in use.

Even a dead word, however, is interesting to a student of linguistics as the fossil of a pre-historic monster is interesting to a biologist. Just as the fossil throws light on earlier forms of life in this planet, so a word which is out of use, reveals the culture and thought processes of the people who used it. "Between the development of human civilization in general and the development of human speech in particular, there is a close connection which it is one of the objects of the Science of language to elucidate. Human civilization in all its manifold activities and in all its countless changes manifests itself only by means of words and by means of the expression of thought in language."* If, therefore, language is the autobiography of the human race, nowhere is the character clearer than in the changes that have occurred in the meanings of words.

The study of changes of meaning in words is termed semantics; and this study had its greatest exponent in France. Since then this aspect of linguistics has received attention from scholars in various Countries. The present attempt to introduce this line of investigation in the study of the Tamil language has been inspired by such works as those of Trench, Vendryes, Breal, Tucker, Kittridge and others. These scholars had a tremendous advantage; they had ready to their hand, dictionaries in the various languages which gave the successive meanings of words according to the chronology of their usage. All that they had to do was to generalise from recorded data: there was no need for gathering material.

No such aid to the study of semantics exists for the student of Tamil. Therefore, the present study has been based on the author's personal reading. Examples have been culled from every century and every writer in order that the progress of a word may be charted down the course of Tamil literature. What academies have attempted elsewhere, has been temerariously touched upon in the present pioneer study, in the hope, that the attention of scholars may be drawn to this vast field of study which yet remains to be properly explored.

R. P. SETHU PILLAI.

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* E. Classon: Outlines of the History of the English Language.

WORDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

(A STUDY IN TAMIL LINGUISTICS)

SECTION I

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Language has been characterised as 'fossil poetry.' " The beautiful thoughts and images, the imagination and feeling of past ages are preserved in words," says Trench. The language of South India is replete with such words.

In the Tamil land where agriculture has been the main occupation of the people from time immemorial, the gentle rain is hailed as the manifestation of Divine mercy. The rain-clouds rolling in the sky fill the hearts of princes and peasants alike with delight. The charming name *eḻili* [1] is given to the cloud 'big with the promise of fertilising showers'. *Eḻil* [2] is beauty and *eḻili* denotes a 'thing of beauty.' It is remarkable that *manju*, another word for the cloud, also means beauty. [3] The popular expression *manju tavaḻdal* used with reference to the moving cloud, bears testimony to the poetic instinct of the people.

The stars sparkling in the sky and the fishes darting through the waters have attracted the admiring gaze of our ancestors who employed the common term *mīn* to denote them. *Vaḍamīn* is the northern star; *Aṟumīn* is the constellation of six stars; *Purai mīn* is the top star, and so forth. [4] Possible confusion between the fish and the star is avoided by calling the latter *viṇmīn* or *vānmīn*. " The word *mīn* has poetry in it " says Dr. Caldwell. " The root of *mīn* is '*min*' to glitter, to be phosphorescent, and '*mīn*' a verbal noun which is formed from '*min*' by the lengthening of the included vowel, signifies in poetical Tamil a star, as

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1. எழிலி தானல்கா தாகி விடின். திருக்குறள், 17.
2. எரும் வனப்பும் எழிலும்......அழகின் பெயர். பிங்கல நிகண்டு.
3. மஞ்சடை மணிகரு மாலை மண்டபம்-சூளா. குமார. 17.
4. வடமீன்-அருந்ததி ; தீதிலா வடமீனின் திறம்-சிலப், மங்கல. 27.
அறுமீன்-கார்த்திகை-பிங்கல நிகண்டு.
புரைமீன்-உச்ச நட்சத்திரம்; புரைமீன் கூடிய பொழுதியல். பெருங்கதை, உஞ்சை, 39, 7.
கைம்மீன், ஐம்மீன்-அத்தம் ; செம்மீன்-சித்திரை ;
மும்மீன்-மிருகசீரிடம் ; கடைமீன்-இரேவதி.

well as a fish. Who that has seen the phosphorescence flashing from every movement of the fish in tropical seas or lagoons at night, can doubt the appropriateness of denoting the fish that dart and sparkle through the waters as well as the stars that sparkle in a midnight sky, by one and the same word, viz., a word signifying that which glows or sparkles?"[5]

The imagery that inheres in the names of beasts and birds deserves our attention. The squirrel is a pretty creature of innocent pranks. The triple lines, the smart tail, and the swift movements of the squirrel have always been a source of joy to young and old alike. The beauty of the lines on its back has inclined poets to trace the hand of divinity in them.[6] The squirrel is denoted by the term *'aṇil'*, derived possibly from *aṇi*—beauty.

Again, the name of the peacock has arisen from the splendour of its lustrous feathers. The graceful dance of the peacock with its gorgeous feathers spread out like an arch, attracts attention and compels admiration. The splendid plumage being the distinctive feature of the peacock, the name *tōkai* was conferred on it.[7] The colour of the plumage is perhaps signified by the *mā*[8] in *mayil* which is the popular name of the peacock.[9]

The distinctive feature of the parrot is its capacity to reproduce articulate sounds. This capacity is no doubt very limited but the absence of it in other birds makes it a conspicuous attribute of the parrot. The word *kiḷi* which denotes this bird, is derived from *kiḷa*- to speak - a root from which *kiḷavi* (word) has originated.[10] The sweet speech of the parrot has always evoked the admiration of poets and the affection of women.

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5. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar p. 573.

6. It is said that the squirrels contributed their quota of service to the construction of the mighty bridge, now known as Adam's Bridge, in which Rāma was vitally interested and the loyal service rendered by them was acknowledged by a gentle pat of the Lord's hand. The three fingers of Rāma which caressed their back are said to have left ineffaceable lines, which serve to remind posterity of the timely service rendered by these tiny creatures and of the loving recognition accorded to it by the grateful Lord—Ref. Tondaradipodi Alwar—Tirumalai, 27.

7. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar—Int. pp. 88-9.

8. *மாயிரும் பீலி மணிநிற மஞ்ஞை*-சிலப், மனையறம், 37-59.

9. It is sometimes supposed to be a corruption of Mayura the sanskrit word for peacock.

10. *அளியதாமே சிறுபசுங் கிளியே*
குழலும் யாழும் அமிழ்தும் குழைத்தநின்
மழலைக் கிளவிக்கு வருந்தின. சிலப், மனையறம், 57-59.

Poetry may be discovered in some of the place-names of South. India. Amidst the dust and smoke of the city of Madras, poetry survives in the names of some of its suburbs. *Tiruvallikēṇi* (Triplicane) is a beautiful name. The original name of the place was *allikkēṇi,* lotus tank. The prefix *tiru* denotes sanctity. It is obvious that the hamlet which grew round the sacred lotus tank has been called after it. The lotus tank is a perennial source of inspiration to the poet. But the corrupt form, Triplicane, which has almost displaced the original name, is bereft of beauty and poetry. Similarly *Mayilai* or *Mayilāppūr,*[11] the place of the beautiful peacock, near Triplicane is instinct with poetry.

A village on the banks of the Kaveri was named *Mayil-āḍuturai* [12] a word which at once raises in our mind, the picture of the dancing peacock and its lovely plumage. This picturesque name was probably translated into Sanskrit as Mayūrapuram, then changed into Mayūra-varam, [13] and ultimately corrupted as *Māyavaram.*

The Tamil vocabulary furnishes numerous instances of "faded metaphors" which bear the marks of ancient wisdom. The word *nūl* for instance, which signifies a treatise on art or science, is a beautiful metaphor, drawn from the art of spinning. A perception of the re. semblance between the work of the spinner and that of the poet has led to the adoption of the term *nūl* to the finished literary output.[14] The spinner operates on the spindle; the poet operates on his imagination. The spinner draws fine yarn out of a bunch of cotton; the poet draws exquisite filaments of thoughts and images from his language. The humming sound of the spinning-wheel fills the heart of the spinner with joy; the music of the verse enthralls the poet.

It is probable that *nūl* originally denoted only metrical composition which formed the bulk of ancient Tamil literature. [15] It was however extended in course of time to all kinds of treatise in verse or prose. It is remarkable that three treatises on Tamil grammar bear the names *Nannūl, Cinnūl* and *Tonnūl.*

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11. தேவாரம் (திருஞான சம்பந்தர்) மயிலாப்பூர்த்திருப்பதிகம்; மங்குல் மதிதவழு மாடவீதி மயிலாப்பிலுள்ளார் (திருநாவுக்கரசர், கோயில் திருத்தாண்டகம்).

12. தேவாரம் (திருஞானசம்பந்தர், திருநாவுக்கரசர்)—மயிலாடுதுறைத் திருப்பதிகம்.

13. Cf. the change of Kanchipuram into Kanchivaram (Conjeevaram).

14. நன்னூல் - பொதுப்பாயிரம், 24; இறையனாரகப் பொருள் உரை ப, 12-13.

15. கம்பராமாயணம், பாயிரம், 8.

Kūḍu is used in poetry with reference to the human body.[16] It is obvious that the metaphor is drawn from bird-life. The mortal coil is discarded by the soul just as the nest (kūḍu) which shelters the bird and enables it to propagate its species, is abandoned by it at will. Fraser observes, "Often the soul is conceived as a bird ready to take flight. This conception has probably left traces in most languages, and it lingers as a metaphor in poetry. But what is metaphor to a modern European poet was sober earnest to his savage ancestor and is still so to many people."[17]

The poetic instinct of the ancient Tamil race is reflected in the terms that the grammarians have chosen to employ for denoting the vowels and consonants of the Tamil alphabet. The vowel is known as *uyir* (life) and the consonant *mey* (body). This nomenclature is based upon a perception of the nature of the two classes of sounds in the Tamil phonetic system. The vowel-consonant, which as the name indicates is a product of the combination of vowel and consonant, is called *uyir-mey*, the animated body. This graceful metaphor has called forth the appreciation of the "father of Dravidian Philology."[18]

The terms that denote the sexes in Tamil are indicative of their distinctive characteristics. *Āṇmai*—manhood, is derived from the verbal base *āḷ* which connotes strength or power and *peṇmai*-womanhood, is derived from the root *peḷ* which signifies love or beauty. "Beauty in women and heroism in men were mutual attractions and cements of love between lovers in the palmy days of the Tamil country."[19]

A perception of the resemblance between the tender creeper and the young girl has given rise to exquisite metaphors. *Valli* and its variant *vaḷḷi* and *koḍi* are poetical names for the girl. The maturity or puberty attained by the girl is signified by the expressive metaphor *pūppu*-(bloom).[20] The ancient Tamils considered that the physical charms of virtuous maidens attracted the attention of young men, even as the natural beauty of the fragrant flowers attracted the humming bees.[21] It is significant that the happy union of man and woman is denoted by the term *maṇam*, which means fragrance.

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16. கூடலான் கூடாயினன்-சிலப். வழக்குரை-வெண்பா.
17. Golden Bough, Part II pp. 33-4.
18. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, p. 132.
19. Critical Studies in Kural—p. 19.
20. பூப்பின் புறப்பாடீராறு நாளும்-தொல், பொருள், 187.
21. வண்டோரனையர் ஆடவர் பூவோரனையர் மகளிர் - இறையனாரகப் பொருளுரை-ப. 181.
    பெண்டிர் நலம் வௌவித் தண்சாரற் றாதுண்ணும்
    வண்டிற் றுறப்பான் மலை-கலித்தொகை; உரை, ப, 234, அடிக் குறிப்பைப் பார்க்க.

Marriage was not looked upon as an end in itself; it was only a means to an end. The analogy therefore is carried beyond the stage of matrimony. The offspring are cherished as the fruits of wedded love and hence abortion is denoted by the term *kāy*-unripe fruit.[22] These beautiful metaphors testify to the poetic sense of the ancient Tamils.

The high level of moral excellence attained by the Tamil race is attested by the synonyms *uṇmai*, *vāymai* and *meymmai*, signifying truth. *Uṇmai*, derived from the root *uḷ* literally means the quality of the mind. Similarly the words *vāymai* and *meymmai* are abstract nouns derived from *vāy* and *mey* and signify the quality of the tongue and the quality of the body respectively. These terms clearly indicate that honesty in thought, word and deed was considered to be of the essence of virtuous life in the ancient unsophisticated society. Truth was regarded as the fountain of honour and was the index of an unsullied mind.[23] The expression *mey-p-poruḷ* used with reference to God, indicates that there is no religion higher than truth.[24]

The destructive character of evil is clearly expressed by the term *tīmai* which literally means the quality of fire. The etymological sense of the word is suggested in the couplet

> " *தீயவை தீய பயத்தலால் தீயவை*
> *தீயினும் அஞ்சப் படும்.*"

"Evil is dreaded more than fire, since evils new from evils ever grow." In Silapadikaram the Pandya king who caused the innocent Kovalan to be murdered, is characterised as *tī-vēndan*[26]—the evil king-by Kannaki. When in a state of intense agony, she directed the god of fire to destroy the city which had become the den of evil, she referred to the wicked section thereof as *tī-tiṟattār.*[27] *Tittiṟam* is the opposite of *naṟṟiṟam.*[28] The nature of evil disclosed by the term *tīmai* may be described in the words of Milton:

> "But evil on itself shall back recoil,
> And mix no more with goodness, when at last
> Gathered like scum, and settled to itself,
> It shall be in eternal restless change
> Self-fed and self-consumed." 29

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22. Kāy—aborted foetus; kāy-viḻutal—*கருச்சிதைந்து விழுதல்*—Tamil Lexicon.
23. *அகந்தூய்மை வாய்மையாற் காணப்படும். திருக்குறள்*, 298.
24. *கற்றீண்டு மெய்ப்பொருள் கண்டார்-திருக்குறள்*, 356.
25. *திருக்குறள்*, 202.
26. *தீவேந்தன் தனைக்கண்டு இத்திறங்கேட்பல்-சிலப், ஊர்சூழ்*, 71.
27. *தீத்திறத்தார் பக்கமே சேர்க-சிலப், வஞ்சின*, 55.
28. *நற்றிறம் படராக் கொற்கை வேந்தே-சிலப், வழக்குரை*. 66.
29. Comus. 593-97.

The word *kaṇ* which denotes the organ of vision, has formed the basis of several significant terms expressive of human emotions. The eye is said to be the index of the feelings surging in the human mind. *In-kaṇ* is expressive of delight; *pun-kaṇ* is expressive of distress; *taṟukaṇ* denotes cruelty and *uṟukaṇ* denotes affliction.[30] The abstract noun, *kaṇmai* derived from *kaṇ* signifies compassion.[31] Contact between the human mind and the external world is established through the eye. The world is for the most part filled with misery and distress, and the mind is moved by the pathos of life conveyed through the eye. Tears are visible signs of the mind moved by distress. Hence sympathy is regarded as the natural quality of the eye. It has been said that the eye devoid of sympathy is unworthy of the name.[32] *Kaṇṇōṭṭam* which literally means sight or glance has acquired the sense of kindliness or compassion.[33] The expression *kaṇ-pārttal* denotes sympathetic attitude. Similarly *Kaḍai-k-kaṇittal*—glancing with the corner of the eye—connotes a favourable disposition.[34] *Puṟa-k-kaṇittal*, on the other hand denotes neglect.

Kai, the hand, is regarded as the instrument of action. The function of the hand is explicit in the phrase *kai-yāl-ākātavan*, which means a feeble person. The action of giving a helping hand to a man in difficulty or distress is *kai-koḍuttal* and the withdrawal of help is *kai-viḍutal*. Contracts or agreements are concluded by striking on the palm, *kai-aḍittal*, and the act of giving away a girl in marriage is completed by water being poured on the palm of the groom by the parents of the bride. It is called *kai-k-ku-nir-vārttal*. *Kai-aḍai* is refuge or protection, and *kai-māṟu* is return or recompense. The idea perhaps is the hand that receives a favour pays it back. *Kai* denotes also rectitude or moral conduct. *Kai-mai* denotes widowhood, and *kaim-peṇ* is a widow.

In the primitive state of society in South India, the wooden yard known as *tulākkōl* served the purpose of the modern balance. The normal position of the yard was called *saman*[35] or *naḍu-nilai* and this position was ascertained by holding the instrument aloft by a string

30. இன்கண்-இன்கண் உடைத்து அவர் பார்வல்-திருக்குறள், 1152.
புன்கண்-புள்ளுறு புன்கண் தீர்த்தோன்-சிலப், வழக்குரை, 52.
தறுகண்-பேராண்மை யென்ப தறுகண்-திருக்குறள், 773.
உறுகண்-உறுகணோம்பல்-தொல்-பொருள், 239.
அலக்கண், இடுக்கண், பழங்கண் — துன்பம்; வன்கண் — கொடுமை
31. பிங்கல நிகண்டு.
32. கண்ணோட்ட மில்லவர் கண்ணிலர்-திருக்குறள், 577.
33. திருக்குறள்-அதி, 58.
34. கடைக்கண் = கடாட்சம்—kataksa (Skt.)
35. சமன்செய்து சீர்தூக்கும் கோல்-திருக்குறள், 118.

attached to it. When a commodity was put into the scale-pan suspended at one end of the wooden yard for the purpose of determining its weight, the string was adjusted until the instrument resumed its normal position. Thus by the simple process of balancing the yard, the weight of a commodity was ascertained. The act of suspending the weighing instrument by the string is known as *eḍuttal* or *tūkkal*.[36] Thus the words *eḍai* and *tūkku* used by vendors of commodities are reminiscent of the old practice of balancing the weighing yard which is called *niruttal* or *nirai*.

These terms have been metaphorically applied to the conditions of the mind. *Naḍu nilai* denotes impartiality or uprightness. A dispassionate consideration of the pros and cons of a question is denoted by the term *tūkkal*. A comparison of merits or values is signified by the expression *cīr-tūkkal*.[37] Integrity is denoted by the term *nirai*.[38]

The images inherent in the words *cemmai*—straightness, and *koḍumai*—crookedness, form the bases of significant moral concepts.[39] In the moral sphere *cemmai* signifies good and *koḍumai* denotes evil. *Ceppam* derived from *cemmai* indicates uprightness[40] and *kōṭṭam* derived from *koḍumai* signifies moral perversity. The king who rules the country with a crooked sceptre is called *koḍungōlan*. "It is better" says the poet, "to live in jungles infested with ferocious tigers than to live under a king who rules with a crooked sceptre."[41] The standard language of South India is known as *centamiḻ* and the dialect of Tamil which is replete with grammatical and idiomatic irregularities is called *koḍuntamiḻ*.[42] The expression *cemboruḷ* used with reference to the Supreme Being signifies His absolute impartiality and justice.[43]

The original sense of the word *kōḍu* derived from *koḍumai* is an oblique or curved line. It is significant that *kōḍu* stands for several objects that are irregular in shape or form. The branch of a tree and

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36. A tūkku ordinarily signifies a weight equal to a hundred palams—Tamil Lexicon.

37. மன்னனும் மாசறக் கற்றோனும் சீர்தூக்கின்-மூதுரை, 26.

38. அறிவொடு நிறையே ஓர்ப்புக் கடைப்பிடி குணாகன்கமே - சூடாமணி நிகண்டு.

39. Cf. the Roman conception of good and evil—"What is good: that which goes straight and in order; what is crooked becomes the symbol of all perversity."—Semantics by Breal p. 123.

40. சொற்கோட்ட மில்லது செப்பம்-திருக்குறள், 119.

41. 'கொடுங்கோல் மன்னன் ஆளும் நாட்டிற் கடும்புலி வாழும் காடு நன்றே'

42. Koduntamil is used by Beschi for the colloquial dialect of Tamil.

43. சிறப்பென்னும் செம்பொருள்-திருக்குறள், 358.

the bank of a river; the horn and the hill; the chank and the crescent moon are some of the objects denoted by the term. In modern usage, however, *kōḍu* means generally a line and a straight line is called *nēr kōḍu* which is etymologically a contradiction in terms.

The distinction between *akam*—within and *puṟam*—without, is fundamental in Tamilian thought and forms the basis of primary classification in Tamil literature. "The idea of within and without," says Vendryes, is expressed in most Indo-European languages by the contrast of house and field. This reveals a social condition in which the entire family was lodged in the same house, and where the outer door marked the boundary of the family domain." [44] In Tamil *akattān* and *akamuḍaiyān* denote the master of the house; [45] *akattāḷ* and *akamuḍaiyāḷ* the mistress of the house. *Puṟattān*—outsider, is the opposite of *akattān.* [46] *Akappaḍutal* [47] is the act of getting in and *puṟappaḍutal* is the act of getting out; *akappakai* is internal enmity and *puṟappakai* is external enmity. In the world of flowers· distinction is drawn between *aka itaḷ* and *puṟa itaḷ*. In the world of plants *aka-k-kāḷ* is distinguished from *puṟa-k-kāḷ*. [48] In the world of religion, distinction is drawn between *aka-c-camayam* and *puṟa-c-camayam.*

All the activities of mankind have been brought under this classification in Tamil literature. Love, furtive and wedded, forms the theme of *akapporuḷ*. War and other external activities of man form the subject-matter of *puṟapporuḷ*.

In primitive society there was perhaps no place for neutrality. The old saying "He that is not with me is against me" is probably illustrated by the words which denote amity and enmity in Tamil. *Cērndār, kūḍinār, onṟinār, pullinār* are words which contain the sense of adherence, and denote friends. On the other hand *Cērār, kūḍār, onṟār. pullār* are words which carry the idea of separation and denote enemies. It is significant that the word *ayalān* denotes a stranger as well as an enemy. [49]

The distinction between the mind and the body is also expressed by the terms *akam* and *puṟam*. As the mind was supposed to dwell inside

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44. Language, p. 210.

45. Āmbaḍayān (husband) and āmbaḍayāl (wife) are corruptions of akamuḍayān and akamuḍayāl.

46. Purattiyān (புறத்தியான்) — stranger — is a corruption of puṟattān.

47. Akappaḍutal is commonly used to denote 'the act of being caught or entangled'—(அகப்பட்டீர் கிடந்துழல அகப்பட்டீர் நீரே).

48. புறக்காழனவே புல்லெனமொழிப
அகக்காழனவே மரமெனமொழிப—தொல், பொருள், 640.

49. அயலார் ஊரில் அஞ்சிலே ஒன்றை வைத்தான். கம்ப, காப்பு. 7.

the body it was denoted dy the terms *uḷ*, *uḷḷam* and *akam*; and the body was called *puṛam*. *Akam-tūymai* is purity of the mind and *puṛam-tūymai* is purity of the body.[50] *Akam and puṛam* are also used in the restricted sense of chest and back. The expression *puṛangāṭṭal* signifies discomfiture as turning the back to the enemy is a sign of acknowledging defeat. Thus it will be seen that the distinction between *akam* and *puṛam* has influenced the whole range of Tamilian thought.

The classification of humanity into *mākkaḷ* and *makkaḷ* testifies to the high level of intellectual life attained by the ancient Tamil society. The animate world is divided into six classes in *Tolkāppiyam*, on the basis of the sensory organs of living creatures.[51] From the plant-life endowed with one sense, to the animal-life gifted with five senses, different categories of life exist which have been duly recognised and arranged in the ancient Tamil grammar. The distinctive feature of humanity is the possession of the sixth sense, viz., the sense of the mind or reason. Hence human beings in whom the sense of the mind is not awakened are placed in the category of beasts.[52] In literary usage, *makkaḷ* denotes rational beings and *mākkaḷ* signifies human beings devoid of reason. This distinction has been adopted in the classification of nouns in the Tamil grammar. "Dravidian nouns are divided into two classes, which Tamil grammarians denote by the technical terms of 'high-caste' and 'casteless' nouns. 'High-caste' nouns are those which denote the celestial and infernal deities and human beings, or briefly, all things endowed with reason. The other class of nouns called 'casteless', includes every thing which is destitute of reason whether animate or inanimate. This classification of nouns though not so imaginative as that of Indo-European and Semitic tongues, is decidedly more philosophical."[53]

There are common terms in colloquial Tamil which seem to indicate that the ancient Tamils were acquainted with the structure and functions of the vocal organs. The term *kural-vaḷai* corrupted into *kuda-vaḷai* literally means voice-curve. It designates the projection of the larynx which contains the vocal chords. "The current of air expelled by the lungs while causing the vocal chords to vibrate gives rise to the voice." A correct knowledge of the position and function of the vocal chords in the mechanism of speech has probably induced the early Tamils to designate the projection of the larynx, popularly known as Adam's apple, by a term which is expressive of its essential function.

50. திருக்குறள், 298.
51. தொல்-பொருள், 582.
52. தொல்-பொருள், 587, 588.
53. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, p. 220.

It is significant that *caṅgu* which denotes the conch-shell is metaphorically applied to the human throat.

In the popular dialect, of the South, saliva is denoted by the term *tuppu-nīr*. *Tuppu* is an obsolete word used in Tamil poetry in the sense of food. It is possible that an appreciation of the part played by saliva in the assimilation of food has led to the adoption of this name. [54]

The predominantly agricultural character of the Tamil country is reflected in the variety of terms relating to water-pools. A natural pond is *poykai*; a natural spring is *ūrru*; a tank of small size is *kēṇi*; a tank of medium size is *kuḷam*; a rain fed tank is *vāna-māri-k-kuḷam*, corrupted into *mānā-māri-k-kuḷam*; a big tank or lake is *ēri*; a pool in the hilly tract is *cunai*; a tank of great depth is *kayam*; a tank in which water is stored for drinking purposes is *ūruṇi*. The names of villages terminating in *ēri* and *kuḷam* are additional proof of the primary occupation of the people of South India.

The large number of metaphors drawn from plant-life furnish striking evidence of the charming natural scenery in the midst of which the primitive people of this country lived. *Muḷai* and *kiḷai*; *malar* and *alar*; *koḍi* and *kombu*; *kāy* and *kani* are drawn from the terminology of plant life and metaphorically applied to denote objects relating to human life. *Kānmuḷai* is off-spring; *kiḷaiñar* are relations, *malarcci* is cheerfulness; *alar* is wide-spread rumour; *pūṅgoḍi* and *pūṅkombu* denote the tender girl; *kāy* is failure and *kani* is success. This list is not exhaustive but only illustrative.

The pre-eminent place assigned to agricultural occupation in the social economy of South India is discernible in certain expressions consecrated by literary usage. The plough in ancient times was cherished as the symbol of prosperity. The tiller who handled the plough was considered a greater benefactor to the community than the warrior who wielded the weapon. Hence the brilliant lancer is styled *ayil-uḷavan* [55] which literally means the plough-man of the lance. Similarly *vāḷ-uḷavan* is used with reference to the warrior wielding the sword. [56] Tiruvalluvar has chosen to characterise the poets as *col-ēr*.

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54. Salivary digestion results in an almost complete alteration of the starch into dextrose and maltose. Principles of Human Physiology. Starling—p. 588. The final semi-vowel in tuppunir is elided in pronunciation.

55. சிக், 2261.

56. வாளுழவன் = வாள்வீரன்-Tamil Lexicon; படைவீரன் (திவாகரம்) தானைத்தலைவன் (சூடாமணி நிகண்டு).

uḷavar and the archers as *vil-ēr-uḷavar.*[57] These expressions employed by poets of great eminence afford striking evidence of the profound respect in which the ploughman was held in the palmy days of the Tamil land.

The words denoting the diverse operations connected with agriculture have acquired remarkable significance in the moral and social spheres of life. *Kaḷaital*-removal, owes its origin to the practice of removing weeds which impede the growth of the seedlings. *Viḷaivu* in the sense of result or consequence is obviously related to *viḷaiyuḷ* or *viḷaivu* which signifies agricultural produce. *Tūrrulal* in the sense of broadcast, probably owes its origin to the act of casting to the winds the grain mixed with chaff and straw at the threshing floor in order to separate them.[58] *Vēḷāṇmai* which denotes cultivation has acquired the the sense of hospitality.[59]

The climatic conditions of the Tamil country are conducive to simplicity in dress. The barks of trees and the hides of animals generally formed the material of primitive human dress. An old poem speaks of sages clad in *cirai*—bark,[60] and *urivai*—skin. *Cilai*, a term now restricted to the apparel of women is probably a variant of *cirai*.[62] *Puṭavai* or *puḍaivai* another word signifying the long cloth worn by women, seems to have originated in Malainad. Puda in Malayalam means to cover.[63] The expression *pudaiyiruḷ* in Silappadikaram signifies enveloping or shrouding darkness. *Pudai* in the sense of cover is according to the classical commentator of Silappadikaram, a dialect of Malainad (Malayalam).[64] *Pudappu* a verbal noun from *puda* denotes

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57. திருக்குறள், 872.

Cf. vennir (வெந்நீர்) > venni (வெந்நி)
Tannir (தண்ணீர்) > Tanni (தண்ணி)
ilanir (இளநீர்) > ilani (இளநி)
Padanir (பதநீர்) > Padani பதநி or பதினி.

58. காற்றுள்ளபோதே தூற்றிக்கொள்-பழமொழி.

59. திருக்குறள், 81.

60. சீரை தைஇய உடுக்கையர்-திருமுரு, 126. மானின் உரிவை தைஇய ஊன் கெடு மார்பு-திருமுரு, 129.

61. r and l are interchangeable in Tamil. It is also possible that cēlai and cilai are corruptions of the Skt, cēla.

62. சீரை சுற்றித்திருமகள் பின்செல-கம்ப, நகர் நீங்கு, 234.

63. Final a (அ) of Malayalam becomes ai (ஐ) in Tamil; hence Puda (ma)—Pudai (Ta)

64. புதைத்தல்=போர்த்தல்-மலைநாட்டு வழக்கு - சிலப், இந்திர, 4, அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் உரை.

a covering or blanket in Malayalam.[65] *Pudavai* may be formed from the same root by the addition of *vai*, another suffix of the verbal noun. It is probable that *pudavai* has changed into *puṭavai* by the substitution of the cerebral for the medial dental. It is significant that the presentation of the *puṭavai* to the bride contstitutes the essence of marriage in Malabar. *Puṭava-koṭa* commonly corrupted into *puṭakoṭa*, literally the gift of *puṭava* or cloth, still forms an essential feature in the Malabar marriage ceremony.

It is probable that the original form of *tukil*—cloth, was *tuyil*. The literal sense of tuyil—(tuy-cotton) is cotton fabric.[66] In Malayalam *tuyil* signifies cotton cloth. A place in South India noted for the manufacture of *tuyil* come to be called *tuyili*. It is curious that *tuyili* is now used to designate the cloth of a particular texture woven at that place. *Tuyil* has become *tukil* by the change of the medial y into k, a change which does not militate against the phonetic tendencies of the Dravidian Languages.[67] It is natural that *tukil* which primarily denoted white cotton cloth was later extended to coloured cotton fabrics.[68] The analogous history of the cloth known as *koranāḍ* may be considered in this connection. Koranād is a corruption of *kūrai-nāḍu* —(Kūrai-cloth) a place where cloth is manufactured.[69] The term *koranāḍ* however, now denotes a particular pattern of cloth manufactured at Koranād in the vicinity of Mayavaram.

The origin of Jewellery may perhaps be sought in the devices adopted by primitive people to ward off the influence of evil spirits, which were supposed to be responsible for most of the diseases of the human body and mind. Propitiation by periodical offerings and sacrifices was one of the modes of pacifying their wrath and the additional device of avoiding their evil influence by the spell of magical incantation was also widely adopted. The invisible spirits were deemed to be subject to the control of certain mystic letters or symbols, the import of which was known only to the initiated few. They were inscribed on a scroll of palm-leaf, attached to a thread or string, and tied round the

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65. Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary.

66. துய்=பஞ்சு-துய்த்தலை மந்தியை-புறநா, 158.

67. Cf. Vaiyai—Vaikai (Vaikai)
Vāyil (doorway)—Vākili (T), Bāgil (K), Bākil (Tu).
ūḷiyam (service)—ūḍigamu (T), ūḷiga (K).

68. கோபத்தன்ன தோயாப் பூந்துகில்-திருமுரு, 15.

69. Kutal is cloth 'இம்மையே தரும் சோறும் கூறையும்' தேவாரம் (சுந்தரர்).

waist, wrist, ankle or other parts of the body.[70] As these appendages served the purpose of resisting the evil influence of the unseen powers, they were known as *taḍayam*, (*taḍai*-obstruction), a word which still signifies jewellery in the speech of the South Indian peasantry. In course of time, the threads or strings to which the amulets were attached came to be made of glittering metals and the scroll of palm-leaf bearing the mystic symbols was enclosed in metallic cases.

This view of the origin of jewellery receives confirmation from the primary sense of the word *pūṇ* which signifies ornament. The metallic ring or cap which serves to keep the ends of a thing intact, is commonly known as a *pūṇ*.[71] The wooden pestle for instance, used for the purpose of pounding corn, is usually fitted with a *pūṇ* (ferrule) to protect it against wear and tear. The futility of endeavouring to preserve a thing which is by nature perishable, is expressed in the familiar saying '*வெள்ளரிக்காய்க்குப் பூண் பிடித்தால் ஆகுமா?*' "can the cucumber fruit be preserved by metallic bands?" Thus it will be seen that the original purpose of *pūṇ* was to protect the wearer against the influence of evil powers.[72] The jewel called *aimbaḍai*[73] five weapons, seems to establish this point beyond the possibility of doubt. "The gold pendant worn by children in a necklace, bearing in relief the five weapons of Visnu as an amulet" is known as *aimbaḍai*. It is probable that the weapons of Visnu are embossed on the jewel as He is the God of protection in the Hindu mythyology.

The origin of the term *kāppu*—bangle[74] may be considered in this connection. *Kāppu* is derived from the root *kā* (to protect). The ceremony of invocation to the deity for the protection of a child is known as *kāppiḍutal*. A string dyed with saffron is usually tied round the wrist of the child on the occasion. The expression *kāppu-nāṇ*[75] signifies the string of protection tied round the wrist of persons participating in ceremonial functions.

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70. "Very frequently men have fastened round their upper arm the *Nōmbu-kayiru* (sacred cord) attached to which is the *Tyayathu*, holding the copper plate with mantrams (spells) engraved on them"—The personal ornaments of the Madrasi—M. C. C. M. Sept. 1913.

71. *பூண் - உலக்கை தடிமுதலியவற்றின் முனையிற் செறித்த வளையம்.* —Tamil Lexicon.

72. The secondary sense of pūṇ, is armour—See Tamil Lexicon.

73. '*ஐம்படைச் சதங்கை சாத்தி*' பெரியபுராணம், *திருநாட்*, 4. For the meaning of aimbadai, refer to Tamil Lexicon.

74. *காசொடு தொடுத்த காப்புக் கலன் புனை அரைஞாண்*-பெரியபுராணம், *கண்*, 21.

75. *கழுத்தின் நாணுன் மகற்குக் காப்பின் நாணும் என்றுன் - கம்ப, நகர் நீங்கு*, 49.

The term *arai-nāṇ* literally means the waist string. 76 The attrition of *nāṇ* due to semantic wear and tear, has perhaps led to the addition of the word *koḍi* to *arai-nāṇ* in the popular speech. *Arai-nāṇ-koḍi* has been corrupted into *aranākkoḍi*. To this waist band now made of gold or silver a talisman is sometimes attached.

The names of some of the jewels still worn by women in South India seem to disclose their original purpose. A jewel worn on the earlobes of women is known as *muḍiccu* (knot). 77 In ancient times, knots have been used as amulets in different parts of the world. The ancient Assyrians seem to have made much use of knotted cords as a remedy for ailments and diseases. In Russia amulets often derived their protective power in great measure from knots. In Ceylon, the Singhalese peasants use the knot known as 'Goigote' to prevent the devils from diminishing the quantity of corn heaped on the threshing floor during the harvest. 78 With regard to the efficacy of the knot as an amulet, Fraser observes, "The precise mode in which the virtue of the knot is supposed to take effect in some of the instances does not clearly appear. But in general we may say that in all the cases we have been considering, the leading characteristics of the magic knot or lock is in strict accordance with its physical nature, it always acts as an impediment, hindrance or obstacle and that its influence is maleficent or beneficent according as the thing which it impedes or hinders is good or evil." 79

There is reason to believe that most of these primitive appendages consisted of threads and strings. 80 The most significant jewel of the married woman the *tāli*, was originally a simple thread to which probably a knot was attached. The name *nūl* (thread) applied to the *tāli* reveals its primitive condition. The deprivation of this thread marks the commencement of widowhood. 81 It is significant that the word *iḻai* denotes a thread as well as a jewel.

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76. செம்பொன் நாண் அரையில் மின்ன-பெரியபுராணம், திருநாட், 4.

77. Another jewel worn round the neck is called *muḍiccu-k-kāṟai* (முடிச்சுக்காறை). It has a number of large metal beads strung on the band and attached to the front side, so as to lie beneath the chin under which it is fastened.—The Personal ornaments of the Madrasi; M. C. C. M., September, 1913.

78. See Fraser's 'Golden Bough' Part II, ch. 5, Sec. II.

79. Golden Bough, Part II, pp. 309-10.

80. The jewel consisting of three or more strings of plaited gold is known as மின்நூல் (min nūl)—M. C. C. M. Sept.

81. நூற்றவர்தம் பெண்டிரும் எய்தி நூலிழப்ப-திவ், பெரியதிரு, 2.

With the discovery of metals, rings made of iron came to be used as amulets against demons, witches and ghosts. The ring is known as *āḻi*. The etymological significance of this word, perhaps indicates the purpose for which the ring was originally devised. *Āḻi* is derived from the root *aḻi*—to destroy [82]. The purpose of destroying the maleficent influence of the evil spirits is perhaps denoted by this term. The practice of wearing iron rings on the fingers and toes is still common in South India. The fourth finger from the thumb is popularly known as the ring-finger. A consideration of the extensive use of iron rings in the ancient world as a charm for banning ghosts and other dangerous spirits has led Fraser to make the following observation. "How far the custom of wearing finger rings, bracelets and anklets may have been influenced by or even have sprung from a belief in their efficacy as amulets to keep the soul in the body or demons out of it, is a question worth considering."[83]

The significance of the Tamil words *taḍayam*, *pūṇ*, and *iḻai* which denote the jewel in general, and of the terms *kāppu, nal, muḍiccu* and *āḻi*, which signify particular jewels, may give us a clue to discover the origin of jewellery.

The instinct of self-preservation must have induced primitive man to devise tools and implements. "When primitive man, *homo-primigenius*, first stumbled against a stone or hit his head against the overhanging bough of a tree, and instead of wasting his impotent rage in pounding the offensive stone to dust or tearing that bough to shreds, he turned the experience to profit and learnt to fling that stone as a missile at an enemy or broke that bough and used it as a club, he began his human career on earth."[84] The purpose served by the detached bough is indicated by the etymological sense of the word *kōl*, which is derived from *kol* to beat, by the lengthening of the root-vowel. The instrument of destruction is thus denoted by it. In course of time it was extended to all sorts of instruments, e. g., *eḻudu-kōl*, the writing or painting instrument, *tāḻ-k-kōl*, the unbolting instrument and so forth.

Paḍai now used in the sense of army is derived from the root *paḍu* and signifies the act of striking down the enemy. Tools made of stone were found to be more serviceable for this purpose than *kōl*. "Early men displayed a wonderful skill in shaping these

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82. It is significant that the Discus, the most powerful weapon in the armoury of Visnu, who destroys the wicked and protects the virtuous, is styled *āḻi* (ஆழி).

83. Golden Bough, Part II, p. 315.

84. The stone age in India, p. 5.

implements and South India has yielded innumerable palaeolithic tools."[85] The Tamil word *kalam* probably formed from *kal*, (stone) signifies the lithic tools employed by primitive men. The expression *paḍai-k-kalam* perhaps denoted in the first instance the stone implement used for felling the foemen. In course of time, however, *kalam* came to be associated with anything made of stone or wood e. g., *Uṇkalam*, eating vessel, *koḷkalam*, receptacle, *marakkalam*, boat. It is significant that the expression *aṇi-kalam* is used with reference to jewellery. Polished stones probably served as ornaments in primitive society. The word *kal* still sticks to the names of some of the jewels. The emerald ear-pendent is known as *paccai-k-kal*. The diamond neck-lace is *kal-aḍḍigai*. Although in modern jewellery precious stones and glittering metals have taken the place of the polished stones, the expression *aṇi-kalam* recalls to our mind the lithic jewel.

The ancient conception of royalty being next to Divinity is attested by the existence of common terms applicable to both of them. The sacred character of the royal personality is declared in unmistakable terms in the Tamil Devotional songs. " I find the image of the Lord in the gracious King " says a seer.[86] The king was supposed to be guarded and guided by the light of Heaven.[87] Hence next to Divinity, royalty commanded the allegiance and adoration of the people. *Kō* and *kōn*, *iṛai* and *iṛaivan* are terms common to the Divine as well as the human lord. The temple of God and the palace of the king are both denoted by the term *kōyil*.[88] (*Kō* - Lord, *il* - house).

The ancient title denoting the three royal houses of South India are suggestive of the distinctive features of the three Tamil kingdoms. The Chera king is *Villavan*; the Chola king is *Vaḷavan* and the Pandya King is *Mīnavan*.[89] The Chera was the lord of the hills. His subjects were hardy hillmen skilled in archery and his country abounded in wild life. The bow, therefore, was the natural symbol of his royal authority. The Chola country was the most fertile part of the Tamil land. The abundant and fertilising waters of the Kaveri glorified as

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85. *Ibid*, p. 8. /

86. திருவுடை மன்னரைக் காணிற் திருமாலைக் கண்டேனே-திருவாய்மொழி-பதிகம் 34, 8.

87. உறங்கு மாயினு மன்னவன் றன்னொளி
கறங்கு தெண்டிரை வையகம் காக்குமால்-சிந், நாமகள், 219.
ஒளியோ டொழுகப்படும்-திருக்குறள், 698. (ஒளி-உறங்கா
நிற்கவும் நாடுலகம் காக்கின்ற அவர் கடவுட்டன்மை, பரி, உரை).

88. மாலை வெண்குடைப் பாண்டியன் கோயில்-சிலப், ஆய்ச்சி, 5.

89. சூடாமணி நிகண்டு; மக்கட்பெயர், 18, 19, 20.

the *Ponni*, golden river 90, made Cholamandalam the granary of South India 91. Hence the name *Valavan* indicates that he was the lord of the fertile plains. The fish was the symbol of the Pandiya power. It adorned the royal flag and the royal seal of the Pandiya king. The protecting deity of the Pandiya kingdom was *Minātchi*—the fish-eyed goddess. The association of the fish with the Pandiya power indicates that he was the lord of the seas. Pearl-fishery was the main source of his wealth and prosperity. In ancient times an enormous and lucrative trade was carried on at *Korkai*, a sea-port town situated at the mouth of the Tambraparani. The Pandiyan assumed the title of *Korkai-t-turaivan* and *Korkai-āli*—the lord of the Korkai port, with legitimate pride. 92 It is natural that the king whose power and prosperity depended mainly on maritime commerce should adopt the fish as the symbol of his royal authority.

The law by which the primitive Tamils were governed may be understood from the term *vaḷakku* which signifies litigation in the modern speech. *Vaḷakkam* or *vaḷakku* means custom. "The origin of customs is generally enshrouded in the mist of the distant past: but the binding force of customs lies in their sacred antiquity and in the reverential obedience to them by the people themselves for generations." 93 The ancient Tamils were governed mainly by customs. Decisions in tribunals of justice were based on immemorial custom. When an aggrieved person appeared before the judicial tribunal with a complaint that a violation of custom in regard to a particular matter had resulted in the infringement of his personal or proprietary rights, it was necessary to explain the custom alleged to have been violated. Hence the expression *vaḷakkādal* or *vaḷakkuraittal* came to signify pleading. The significance of the term *vaḷakku* is clearly brought out in the chapter dealing with the pleading of Kannaki in Silappadikaram. Kannaki who was aggrieved by an act of the Pandiya king, appeared

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90. *தெய்வப்பொன்னிவெள்ளவாய புனலாறுமுள-கம்ப,அகத்திய*,58.

91. It is possible that the tiger was adopted as the symbol of the Chola power at a time when a large part of the Chola country was covered by dense forest. The great Chola kings are praised by the Tamil bards for the meritorious act of clearing the land of wild growth and rendering it fit for cultivation. (Refer—Paṭṭinappālai—283.)

92. *கொற்கைக் கோமான் கொற்கையம் பெருந்துறை-ஐங்குறு*, 188.

93. "Custom is of far earlier origin than law. Law which is the product of a rather complicated machinery of social and political organisation, was unknown, at any rate in its present sense, in the primitive ages when society was not, as at present, a collection of individuals but an aggregation of families"—Customs and Customary Law, p. 1.

before him to vindicate her husband's innocence and demand redress for the violation of the time-honoured custom that none but the wicked should be punished by the State. In expounding the ancient custom of the country she made the point that even royalty was not above the sacred customary law of the land, and cited the act of the great Chola king who did not hesitate to sacrifice his only son when it was proved that he was responsible for killing a calf on the road. 94 The chapter in Silappadikaram relating to Kannaki's pleading is aptly entitled *vaḻakkurai kātai*, i.e., the chapter relating to the exposition of custom. In modern language an enquiry in a civil court is known as *vaḻakku vicāraṇai* as distinguished from *kuṟṟa vicāraṇai* —enquiry in a criminal court. Thus the word *vaḻakku* used with reference to litigation takes us back to the days when the Tamil community was governed by customs having the force of law.

The Greek and Hebrew Languages bear testimony to the commercial relations that subsisted in ancient times between Tamil India and foreign countries. An old Tamil poem gives a list of things imported from other countries by land and by sea. Among the commodities that came from distant countries beyond the seas, a prominent place is assigned to the horse. 95 It is probable that the Arab merchants who maintained active commercial relations with the Tamil country for several centuries carried on a lucrative trade in Persian and Arabian horses. The words designating the equipment of the horse in Tamil, seem to indicate that it was not an indigenous animal. The saddle is denoted by the term *ceṇam*, which is derived from the Persian *Zīn*. *Lakān*—the reins, is a corruption of the Persian *Lagām*. *Cavukku*—the whip, is obviously the Persian *cābuk*. 96.

Among the thirty words given in *Cūḍamaṇi* as synonyms for the horse, *kōram* and *pari* seem to be significant. One of the Persian words designating the horse is *kurra*. The Telugu word *gurramu* (horse) bears a close resemblance to the Persian *kurra*. In Tamil *kōram* is used generally in the sense of horse and particularly with

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94. தேரா மன்னா செப்புவ துடையேன்

... ...

வாயிற் கடைமணி நடுநா நடுங்க
ஆவின் கடைமணி யுகுநீர் நெஞ்சுசுடத் தான்றன்
அரும்பெறற் புதல்வனை ஆழியின் மடித்தோன்
பெரும்பெயர்ப் புகாரென் பதியே—சிலப், வழக்குரை.

95. நீரின் வந்த நிமிர்பரிப் புரவியும்-பட்டின, 185.

96. For the Persian words referred to, see Tamil-Literary and Colloquial by R. P. Sethu Pillai.

reference to the royal horse of the Chola dynasty. Malcolm says, 'that horses of the Turkoman or Khorassan breed were noted for their great size and strength and were most prized by the soldiers of Persia.'[97] It is possible that *kōram* used with reference to the Chola horse is a corruption of the Persian Khorassan. The mare is denoted by the term *faras* in Persian. The resemblance of the Tamil word *pari* horse, to this Persian word is remarkable.

The existence of indigenous words for the boat, the ship, the lighthouse, etc., testifies to the knowledge which the ancient Tamils had acquired of the art of navigation. However, commercial contact with foreign countries has enriched the Tamil vocabulary by contributing a few nautical terms. *Langar*, the Persian form of the Greek word for anchor, has been adopted in Tamil as *Nangūram.* The recognition that this nautical term has received at the hands of a mediaeval commentator shows that it must have passed into the Tamil language, possibly through the sailor's slang, at a very early period of its history.[98] The word *mālumi* designating the pilot is derived from the Persian *Mallah. Nikān* and its variant *Mikān* are perhaps corruptions of the Persian *Nakhuda* which signifies the captain or owner of a ship, a word adopted in Arabic in the same form. *Cukkān,* rudder, is Arabic.[99]

The Arab merchants have introduced the name of an Indian fruit into the European Languages in the wake of their commercial intercourse. The English word Orange has been traced to the Indian languages in which it originated. *Nārangāi* or *nārangā*, the name of the fruit in the Indian languages assumed the form *nārang* in Persian and *nāranj* in Arabic. "From the Arabic, the Italians got *narancia*, the Spaniards *naranja*, the Portugese *laranja*, and the French *orange*." The forms in which the original word appears in the Indian languages may also be considered. In Sanskrit it appears in two forms *nāgaranga* and *nāranga*; "but of these words no satisfactory etymological explanation has been given." In the Dravidian languages *nārangāy* which has assumed the form *narañña* in Malayalam, can, according to Dr. Gundert, be traced to the root *nar*—to smell. It may be noted that the Persian *nārang* bears a very close resemblance to the Malayalam form of the word. It is probable that *nārangāy*

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97. Malcolm's Persia, Vol. II, pp. 516-17.

98. Naccinārkiniyar has used the word in his commentary on Cintāmani, St., 1231.

99. Cungān is the nasalised form of cukkān. The Arabic word s Sukkān.

passed into the language of the Arabs during their commercial intercourse with Malabar. 100

The advent of new religions and the impact of new cultures in South India have from time to time led to a revision of the Tamil vocabulary. New words have come into existence and existing words have acquired new significations. The principal religions that influenced the thoughts and ideals of the Tamil country were Jainism and Buddhism in ancient times and Muhammadanism and Christianity in modern times.

The word *paḷḷi* was originally used in the general sense of place. e. g. *Iḍai-p-paḷḷi*—central place: *maḍai-p-paḷḷi* (maḍai—cooked rice, paḷḷi—place) denotes kitchen, now restricted to the kitchen attached to temples and charitable institutions. The Buddhists and Jains employed the term *paḷḷi* to denote their holy places. The monasteries of the Jaina monks and the hermitages of the Jaina ascetics were known as *mātavar paḷḷi* and *aravōr paḷḷi*. 101 As Buddhism and Jainism were missionary religions, the learned monks and ascetics were actively engaged in expounding the principles of their faith to their disciples in the monasteries. Thus *paḷḷi* was not merely a place for practising religious austerities but was also a theological seminary. It is probable that the education imparted in these seminaries included a course of instruction in grammar, logic and literature, as an exact knowledge of the language and a correct method of exposition were essential for the propagation of religion. Thus the term *paḷḷi* came to signify an educational institution. The decline of Jainism in South India led to the abolition of the monasteries. But the thirst for knowledge created by the *paḷḷis* survived them. The excitement caused by the struggle between Jainism and Hinduism for supremacy and the flush of victory scored by the latter gave an impetus to the study of Hindu scriptures and theology. Enthusiastic pupils waited at the doors of learned men eager to receive instruction. The house of the learned man thus became the school and as the *kūḍam* (verandah) of his residence was regularly and habitually used as the place of instruction, the school came to be called *paḷḷi-k-kūḍam*. There the master used to sit on a pial-*tiṇṇai*

100. Hob-job. p. 642. For a derivation of the word from a Dravidian root refer to Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary. (Nārakam—from nār or nāru + akam "holding fragrance—an orange tree, citrus aurantium. The fruit is nārañña whence P. nārānj and European orange"—p. 544.

101. அறவோர் பள்ளியும் அறனோம் படையும்—சிலப், இந்திர, 179
அறவோர்பள்ளி = அருகர்பள்ளி, புத்தர்பள்ளி-அடி, உரை.

and impart instruction to the pupils who sat at his feet. As the pial was the seat of learning, the school received the name *tiṇṇai-p-paḷḷi-k-kūḍam*. Thus it will be seen that the modern school, which is mainly concerned with secular education, had its origin in theological seminaries of the religions which have ceased to be a living force in this country.

Paḷḷi as the name of a place of worship or prayer still lingers in the term *Paḷḷivāsal*[102] which denotes the Muhammadan mosque in the Tamil country.

The history of the word *aḍikaḷ* affords another instance of the influence of Buddhist and Jaina religions. The devotees of the Lord were generally denoted by the term *aḍiyār* in the Hindu religion. But Jainism and Buddhism which laid great emphasis on renunciation used the word *aḍikaḷ* with reference to their ascetics.[103] Ilaṅgō, the Chera prince, was styled *Ilaṅgō-aḍikaḷ* as he renounced his royal splendour and became a Jaina ascetic. Kavunti, the Jaina ascetic, is referred to as *Kavunti-aḍikaḷ* in Silappadikaram. The celebrated monk who expounded the Buddhist law at Kanchi was known as *Aravaṇa-aḍikaḷ*. The new shade of thought which the word *aḍikaḷ* acquired in the Jaina and Buddhist usage has been adopted and perpetuated by the devotees of other religions. The prince of Saiva ascetics is elegantly styled *Paṭṭinat-t-aḍikaḷ* or *Tiruveṅkāṭṭu aḍikaḷ*. Saint Manikkavasagar is known as *Vātavūr aḍikaḷ*, and so forth.

The Jaina ascetics who settled in the Tamil country belonged mainly to the Digambara sect of Jainism. Hence the Sramaṇa (Jaina) religion with which the Tamils were acquainted was the religion of the naked ascetics. The word *Sramaṇa* was corrupted into *Samaṇam*, which became *amaṇam* by the elimination of the initial consonant. *Amaṇam*, the name of the religion came to be associated with nudity as a sect of Jaina monks were nude ascetics. Thus *amaṇam* and its corruption *ammaṇam* came to denote nudity.

The original sense of the word *vinai* is action. The verb is known as *vinai-c-col* in the Tamil grammar, as the function of that part of speech is to denote action. Purity of action and decisive action are denoted by the expressions *vinai-t-tūymai* and *vinai-t-tiṭpam* in Tirukkural.[104] When the doctrine of *karma* was elaborated and systematised, *vinai* came to be used in the sense of karma. The principle of karma

102. In Nānjanād (South Travancore) and Travancore the word paḷḷi is associated with the Christian church. e.g., Savariyār paḷḷi.

103. அடிகள் என்றது துறந்தவனை-சிலப், பதி, 1-அடி-உரை.

104. திருக்குறள், அதி. 66, 67.

is based on the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul. "Every action whether mental or physical is the sowing of a seed or in the technical language of Hindu philosophy, an engendering of karma. The harvest which is sown must be reaped, gathered and assimilated in its unabated fulness. Karma, therefore, is a kind of force which compels the soul to bear the consequence of its right or wrong action, and this force originates in the very action itself which is performed by the soul and at the very moment of its performance."105 Thus *vinai* came to denote the action of the soul in previous births which causes happiness or misery in succeeding births. The expression *ūḻvinai* refers to the regular unalterable course of *karma.* The preponderance of evil deeds in the world has gradually led to the restriction of the term *vinai* to the evil *karma* which is the cause of misery and distress.

Sangam is a popular word in the Tamil country. It signifies an institution organised for promoting the cause of learning or religion. "The word Sangam is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit Sangha, first popularised by the Jainas and Bauddhas. A Jaina Sangha was for the first time established in the Tamil country at Madura in 470 A.D. It has to be noted that this was not a Tamil Sangam as we understand it, but an organisation of the Jains of the Tamil country for teaching the Jaina Dharma to lay disciples. The first Bauddha Sangha of the Tamil country is mentioned in the romance called Manimekhalai as existing in Kāviri-p-pūmpaṭṭinam. The "three Jewels"—Buddha, Dharma and Sangha—are mentioned later in the same poem. Thus apparently the word Sangam was used at first in Tamil for a religious association and its function was to teach Dharma."106 The classical commentaries in Tamil contain a description of the three Sangas which flourished in South India under the munificent patronage of the Pandiyas. The restriction of the general term Sangam to an organisation of learned men brought into existence for the purpose of promoting culture is perhaps due to Buddhist and Jaina influence.

The corporate character of family life in South India is attested by the connotation and history of the word *aiyan*. The one-letter word *ai* signifies pre-eminence or headship. The head of the family and the head of the State are denoted by the term *ai*. In the well-known line '*en ai mun nillanmin tevvir*'—' Face not my lord in battle Oh! foes,' *ai* is used in the sense of lord.107 As pronominal terminations and formative suffixes are generally attached to one-letter

105. The Key of Knowledge, p. 876.
106. History of the Tamils, pp. 246-48.
107. திருக்குறள். 771.

words to facilitate enunciation, *an*—the suffix of the masculine singular was attached to *ai*. Thus (*ai an*,) *ai-y-an* came to be used with reference to the *pater-familias* who was the responsible head of the joint family. The right of managing the joint estate and the duty of supporting the members of the joint family devolved on the eldest son after the death of the father. This status accounts for the term *aiyan* being applied to the eldest brother in the first instance and to every elder brother in succession. The common term *tamaiyan* which denotes the elder brother is derived by prefixing the reflexive pronominal base *tam* to the word *aiyan*. 108

The resemblance between the growth of the tree and the growth of the human family has led to the application of the word *kiḷai*—branch, to relations. The *paterfamilias* supports the family, as the trunk of a tree supports its branches. Though the trunk and the twigs are distinguishable, they together form the tree. The trunk sustains the branches and the branches in turn lend charm and beauty by their foliage. The ramification of the human family is commonly compared by the Tamil poets to the banyan tree which abounds in twigs and branches.

The ancient practice of conferring on grand-children the names of their grand-parents has led to the formation of the words *pēran* (grandson) and *pērtti* (grand-daughter). 109 The practical difficulty experienced in families blessed with more than one grand-son and one grand-daughter of denoting all of them by the names of their grand-parents, is generally obviated by conferring on the eldest son the name of the grand-father, and on the eldest daughter the name of the grand-mother. The need for remembering the names of the immediate and remote ancestors at the ceremonies connected with the propitiation of their disembodied souls was perhaps responsible for this practice.

The maternal uncle's son is *ammān-cēy* (ammān—uncle, cēy-son) corrupted into *ammānci*. It was not considered bad manners to be familiar with the *ammānci*, to crack jokes at him or tease him with pretty pranks. The general inability of an *ammānci* placed in the midst of a mixed company of wits, to meet them on their own ground and pay them in their own coin, has resulted in making the term *ammānci* synonymous with simpleton. This degradation in sense resulting from

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108. For other words with the prefix *tam* refer to Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, pp. 398-400.

109. Pērtti is corrupted into pētti Cf. cērkkai—cēkkai; Nirttu—Nittu, Pērttu—pēttu.

Pēran and pērtti literally mean namesake.

a pleasantry is an instance of "the mildly malicious wit which is but a form of popular good sense." 110

The history of the word *elu̱ttu* gives us an insight into the origin of the modern alphabet. *Elu̱ttu* derived from *elu̱tu* originally denoted painting. 111 *Elu̱tu-kōl* is the painter's brush. A hall in the temple at Tirupparangunram whose walls were adorned with paintings intended to convey religious and moral instruction is described as *elu̱ttu-nilai-maṉṭapam* in Paripāḍal. Kamban describes the charming personality of Rama as *ōviyattu elu̱ta oṇṇā uruvam* 112 the form that defies the skill of the painter. In grammatical usage, *elu̱ttu* signifies 'a concept which includes the sound of a unit-syllable and the sign that represents it.' 113 The pictograph is considered to be parent of the present alphabet. This view seems to receive confirmation from the original sense of *elu̱ttu* in Tamil.

The words denoting the window are expressive of its primitive shape and purpose. In old poems the term *kālatar*, literally, 'wind-way' (*kāl*-wind, *atar*-way) signifies the window. 114 The shape of the window is suggested by the word *kuṟuṅgaṇ* which means 'small-eye'. 115 Silappadikaram refers to the window in the mansions of the city of Puhār which resembled the eye of the deer. *Pala-kaṇi*, literally 'the thing of many eyes' perhaps signifies the lattice-window. These indigenous words have now become obsolete and *jannal*—a corruption of the Portuguese word *janella* has obtained wide currency. 116 The history of the English word window may be considered in this connection. Palmer says "a mysterious word that recalls an obsolete technique is the English word window which means literally 'wind-eye'. The word 'eye' in many languages forms part of compound words denoting the window." 117

Words whose meanings have been obscured or obliterated by corruption will disclose their treasures, if they are restored to their correct forms. In the Dravidian languages, words containing the characteristic sound 'ḻ' (ழ) have undergone remarkable changes.

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110. Vendryes—Language, p. 210.
111. Tirukkural, 1285.
112. கம்ப, வரைவிலைத, 78.
113. History of the Tamils, p. 214.
114. மான்கண் காலதர் மாளிகை இடங்களும்-சிலப், இந்திர, 8.
115. கூதிர்ப்பள்ளிக் குறுங்கண் அடைத்து-சிலப், அந்தி, 61.
116. Tamil Lexicon.
117. Palmer's Introduction to Modern Linguistics, pp. 153, 154.

The physiological effort involved in the correct phonation of this letter is perhaps responsible for its elimination from the alphabets of the Dravidian languages other than Tamil and Malayalam. The extraordinary lack of uniformity in the pronunciation of words containing this sound is evidently due to the difficulty of its exact phonation. Economy of effort is sometimes achieved by the elimination of this letter even from words in which it forms an integral part of the roots. For instance, *tākkōl* commonly used in Malayalam and certain parts of the Tamil country in the sense of key, is a corruption of *tāḻkkōl*. *Tāḻ* is an old word which means bolt. It still lingers in the hybrid *tāḻppāḷ* 118 corrupted into *tāppāḷ* in the colloquial dialect. Hence *tāḻkkōl* denotes the instrument employed for lifting or drawing off the bolt. In Malayalam the corrupt form *Tākkōl* is used in the literary and colloquial language. In modern usage, however *chāvi* a corruption of the Portuguese word *chiavi* 119 has succeeded to a large extent in displacing the indigenous term.

Several words in the Tamil language have lost their semantic value, by the elimination or corruption of the character '*ḻ*'. The word *tomban* for instance is used in certain districts of the Tamil country to denote a class of people who render menial service. The significance of the word will be apparent if it is shown to be the corruption of *toḻumban* (toḻumbu means service). 120

A married woman who is the lady of the house is commonly known as *vāvarasi* in the popular speech of the South. The correct form of the word is *vāḻvarasi*, (*vāḻvu*—life; *arasi*—queen). 121 This term indicates the high regard in which wedded life is held in this country and the remarkable position assigned to the wife in family life. For the woman, life in the real sense of the word commences with marriage. The expression *vāḻkkai-p-paṭṭavaḷ* used with reference to the married woman, clearly reflects the opinion of the community that the purpose of life is fulfilled by marriage. On the other hand *vāḻātavaḷ* or *vāḻāveṭṭi*, a grass-widow is regarded as "a flower wasting its sweetness in the desert air" and is hence the object of public sympathy, if not of contempt.

When a sick person who is gradually recovering his normal health is asked "How do you feel?' he answers *tāvaḷai* or *tēvalai*. At first sight *tēvalai* appears to be a corruption of *tēvai illai* i.e., 'I need

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118. In Tāḻppāl, tāḻ is Tamil and pāḷ is Dutch—Tamil Lexicon.

119. Tamil Lexicon.

120. நின்விழுத்தொழும்பின் உள்ளேன்-திருவாசகம்-கீர்த்தல்-2.

121. Vāvarasi is commonly used in the colloquial dialect in Tirunelveli.

nothing.' But this is hardly a proper answer to a query regarding the state of the patient's health. Moreover, the connection in which this term is employed shows that this cannot be the sense intended. The expression *tāvaḷai āccu* is commonly used in the sense of a wound healed or an illness cured. *Tāvaḷai* is obviously a corruption of *tāḻvilai* which indicates that the disease is not taking a bad turn or becoming worse. This expression coming from a patient undergoing medical treatment will naturally mean that the disease has been brought under control. It is worthy of note that the elimination of the special character '*ḻ*' which forms an integral part of the root is the first step in the process of the corruption of this word. 122

There is a tendency in every language to banish words which denote unpleasant or terrific objects. "To primitive people," says Jesperson "a name is something with a real existence outside humanity, something possessing power, so that the way to escape evil consequence is not to use the plain word for anything bad or dangerous." 123 Diseases in general are dreaded by humanity and certain diseases cause a terrible fright. The primitive people of South India seem to have been horrified at the mysterious disease known as small-pox. Malevolent deities were supposed to be responsible for it and their fury was abated by abundant sacrifices. But the disease was designated by a term which evoked the tenderest associations in the panic-stricken mind. *Ammai*(mother) signifies small-pox. The attack of small-pox is denoted by the graceful expression *ammai-viḷaiyāṭṭu*—mother's play, and the pustule of small.pox bears the name *ammai-muttu*—mother's pearl. *Ammai kuttal* is the common euphemism for vaccination.

"In India," says Fraser, "the animals whose names are most commonly tabooed are the snake and the tiger. In Telingana the euphemistic name for a snake which should always be employed is worm or insect (purugu). Natives of Travancore are careful not to speak disrespectfully of serpents." 124 In the Tamil country the cobra is known as *nallapāmbu*, or *nallatu* which means 'that which is good'.

The terrors associated with death are assuaged by the employment of circumlocutions. The words *tunjinān*—slept, *cenṟān*, *pōnān*,—has gone,

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122. Tāḻvilai > Tāvilai > Tāvalai > Tēvalai: The elimination of may be noted in the following words;—

Tāḻvaḍam (தாழ்வடம்) > Tāvaḍam (தாவடம்), Tavaḍamu (Te) ūḻttai (ஊழ்த்தை) ~ ūttai (ஊத்தை).

Kūḻppatanir (கூழ்ப்பதனீர்) > Kūppatanir, cor. Kūppatani,

Maḻuṅgu (மழுங்கு) > Maṅgu.

123. Mankind, Nation and Individual, p., 169.

124, Golden Bough, Part II, pp. 401-02.

Tiruvaḍi aḍaindān—reached the holy feet of the Lord, are commonly employed to denote death.[125] The divine messenger who is charged with the duty of separating the life from the body is painted by mythology in lurid colours. He is described as a dark figure armed with deadly weapons of terrific dimensions, mounted on a sturdy buffalo and demanding his toll with a ruthless and ferocious face. The thought of death raises the image of this terrific personality. The horrors associated with death are mitigated by calling the messenger *naḍuvan,* the just, and *taruman,* the righteous.[126]

Place-names afford valuable material for the reconstruction of the ancient history of the Tamil race. They may be well utilised for the purpose of corroborating the conclusions warranted by epigraphical and literary evidence. But the popular craze for investing new places with hoary traditions has been responsible for the transformation of several place-names. *Mahabalipuram,* a celebrated shrine on the sea-coast in the Chingleput district, is an instance in point. This city was originally known as Mallai or Māmallai. Mallai was called Māmallapuram after the great Pallava king Narasimhavarman alias Māmallan.[127] Māmallapuram was changed into Mahabalipuram by those who wanted the name of the mighty Mahābali to be associated with it.

The history of the Pandava hills near Paḻani affords another instance of the transformation effected by folk-etymology. This hill belonged to the ancient Cheras and was known as the Aiyirai hill. The Goddess Koṟṟavai installed on the top of the hill was propitiated by the Chera kings before they commenced hostilities.[128] By and by. *Aiyirai malai* was corrupted into *Aivar malai,* i.e., the hill of the five. The popularity of the story of the Pandavas led to the identification of

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125. அஞ்சன மேனி யான்றன் அடிகளை யொன்றால் மாழ்கித் துஞ்சினன்.
கம்ப, பிணிவீட்டு, 84.
நின்றான் இருந்தான் கிடந்தான்றன் கேளலறச்
சென்றான் எனப்படுத லான்-நாலடி, 29.
போயினன் என்றான் என்ற போழ்ததே ஆவி-போனான்,
கம்ப தைலம், 60.
புண்ணியா, உன்னடிக்கே போதுகின்றேன் - திருநாவுக்கரசர்
தேவாரம், திருப்புகலூர்ப்பதிகம், 1.

126. சூடாமணி நிகண்டு.

127. கலங்களியங்கும் மல்லைக்கடன்மல்லைத் தலசயனம் - பெரிய திருமொழி, 2, 6, 6.

128. See Chēran Chenguṭṭuvan by M. Raghava Iyengar, p. 181.

Aivar with the Pancha-Pandavas. To each of the Pandavas a hill was generously assigned and the ancient Korravai was made to play the role of Pānchali, their devoted wife.[129]

The history of the word Trichinopoly is no less interesting. The original name of the place was Cirāppaḷḷi.[130] In the sacred hymns of the Saivite Saints, it is referred to as Cirāppaḷḷi. *Tiru,* signifying sanctity, was attached to it and it became *Tiru-c-cirāppaḷḷi.*[131] The shrine on the rock of Tiru-c.cirāppaḷḷi was perhaps destitute of any memorable tradition. Hence an ingenious device was adopted by which Tirisira, a step.brother of the mighty Ravana was made the founder of the shrine.[132] *Tiru,* the prefix of *Tiru-c-cirāppaḷḷi* was twisted into *tiri* three, and Tiri-c-cirāppaḷḷi was represented as the place founded by Tirisira, the three-headed warrior of Lanka. The shrine alleged to have been founded by Tirisira came to be called Tirisirapuram. The zeal evinced by the Saivite poets and scholars in popularising the term Tirisirapuram—an attempt which has not succeeded to any appreciable extent—testifies to their anxiety to dissociate the shrine from every word or sign associated with Jainism, which perhaps held sway at the Cirāppaḷḷi rock prior to its occupation by Saivism. The modern contraction *Tirucci* retains only the prefix of sanctity and the initial palatal of the ancient name.

The ancient classification of land in Tamil India is suggested by the word *iḍayar* which denotes the members of the shepherd community. *Iḍayar* literally means the inhabitants of the middle tract. The meaning of this term recalls to our mind the primitive division of land into four classes, viz., the hilly tract, *kurinji,* the sylvan tract *mullai,* the arable tract *marutam* and the littoral tract *neydal.* This classification was deemed so comprehensive that the earth came to be called *nānilam.* Of these four classes the sylvan region was known as the middle tract, as it lay between the hilly and the arable tracts.

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129. Pancha Pandavar malai is the present name of the hill.

130. சிராப்பள்ளிக் குன்றுடையானைக் கூற என்னுள்ளங் குளிருமே-
திருச்சிராப்பள்ளிப்பதிகம், திருஞான சம்பந்தர் தேவாரம்.

131. திருச்சி ராப்பள்ளி யென்றலும் தீவினை
கரிச்சி ராறு நடக்கும் நடக்குமே- திருநாவுக்கரசர் தேவாரம்.

132. தறித்திடுந் திரிசிரா சொல்லுஞ் சொல்லினன்
மறிச்சடை முடியினன் வரங்கொ டுத்தலால்
உறைந்திடு மனைசையே யொப்ப தாகுமப்
பதிப்பெயர் திரிசிராப் பள்ளி யானதே-செவ்வந்திப்
புராணம், திருமலைச்சருக்கம். 15.

Distinct names are given to villages situated in these four natural regions. The hamlets of the hill-men in *kurinji* are called *kuricci.* 133 *Alvārkuricci, Naduvakkuricci, Kallakkuricci*—the names of these villages indicate that they belong to the mountainous or rocky region. Habitations in the sylvan tract are known as *pāḍi. Ayarpāḍi, Āppāḍi Kāṭṭuppāḍi, Mullippāḍi* are settlements in the wooded region. Villages situated in the arable tract are styled *ūr. Uraiyūr, Nellūr, Cirrūr, Pērūr,* are the names of some of the ancient places in the arable tract. Habitations in the littoral tract are known as *Paṭṭinam. Nāgapaṭṭinam, Kavirippūmpaṭṭinam, Kulasēkarapaṭṭinam* are situated in the littoral region. 134

The prefix *ār* in the place-names Ār-p-pākkam and Ār-ūr suggests the primitive condition of these places. Ār-k-kāḍu or Ārkāḍu was supposed to be a corruption of ārukāḍu (six forests) and was translated into Sanskrit as Ṣaḍ-āraṇya. Ārūr, now known as Tiruvārūr, is said to have been the capital of the Cholas in the pre-historic times. The tree known as ār or ātti, a corruption of ārtti, perhaps existed in abundance in the territory of the Cholas in ancient times. It is significant that the garland of the royal dynasty of the Cholas was made of ātti flowers. It is possible that the place covered by the ātti forest was given the name Ārkkāḍu. Similarly a strip of land abounding in ātti trees received the name ārppākkam and the land cleared of the ātti forest and rendered fit for the habitation of agricultural communities was denoted by the term Ārūr.

The physical geography of the ancient Tamil country may be gleaned from the terms connected with the names of the four cardinal points. The north and the south are denoted by the terms *vaḍakku* and *terku.* The east and the west are signified in old Tamil by the words *kuṇakku* and *kuḍakku.* The termination *ku* in these terms is obviously a suffix denoting direction. From the roots of these terms, other words have arisen which give us an insight into the extent of the Tamil land. *Vaḍuku* is the name by which the Telugu language and the Telugu country are known in the ancient Tamil literature. 135 The Tirupati hill is denoted by the term *Vaḍamalai* as it marked the

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133. குறிச்சி வெங்கள் குறச்சாதி குடியிருப்ப தம்மே - மீனாட்சியம்மை குறம், 19.

134. The distinction however is not systematically found. For instance Kapilar uses the word *pākkam* in connexion with Kurinji. The place names terminating in pākkam sometimes refer to villages far away from the littoral region.

135. வடதிசை மருங்கின் வடுகு வரம்பாக-தொல், பொரு, 650, உரை. வடகலை தென்கலை வடுகு கன்னடம் - கம்ப, தனியன்.

northern limit of the Tamil country. The Andhra is styled *vaḍukan*, northerner. The wind blowing from the north is called *vāḍai* or *vaḍandai*.[136] Similarly from the root *ten* which contains the idea of south, the word *tennan* is derived. *Tennan* was the name of the Pandiyan—the ruler of the southern kingdom. The people of the southern region were known as *tennar*. The southern breeze is *tenral*.[137]

From the earliest times known to Tamil literature, the sea formed the eastern boundary of the Tamil land. The eastern sea is called kuṇakaḍal. The eastern wind is known as *koṇḍal*.[138] The primitive people fancied that the clouds sucked the waters of the mighty ocean and benefited the earth by gentle showers. This idea is embodied in the word *kārkōḷ*[139] which signifies the ocean. The rain clouds in Southern India are driven towards the lofty range of mountains near the western coast and hence the eastern wind that drives the pregnant clouds to the western hills as well as the clouds themselves are denoted by the common term *Koṇḍal*. It is probable that *Koṇḍal* signifies the monsoon winds blowing from the north-east.

From the root of the word denoting the west, several significant terms have originated. *Kuḍaku* the modern Coorg, literally means the western region. The venerable sage of the western hill is styled *Kuḍamuni*.[140] *Kōḍai* literally signifies the western wind.[141] It was applied in the first instance to the season during which the western wind blows and ultimately to the intense heat of that season. The country situated on the western frontier of the Tamil land is called *Kuḍanāḍu*, one of the twelve Koḍun.tamil countries in which a crude dialect of Tamil prevailed in the olden days.[142]

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136. வாடையி னுமம் வீசும் வடகாற்று வடந்தை யென்ப-சூடாமணி நிகண்டு.
137. தென்கால், தென்றி — தென்றல்-சூடாமணி நிகண்டு.
138. சூடாமணி நிகண்டு.
139. கார்கோள் முகந்த கமஞ்சூல் மாமழை-திருமுரு, 7.
140. குடமுனிக்கு வலியுறுத்தார் கொல்லேற்றுப்பாகர் - காஞ்சிப்புராணம், தழுவக்குழைந்த, 248.
141. Tamil Lexicon.
142. தென்பாண்டி குட்டம் குடம் - தொல், சொல், 400.

SECTION II.

Semantics or the science of signification is an interesting branch of linguistics. The diverse changes that have taken place in the meanings of words have been studied and classified by philologists under the heads restriction, expansion, degradation, elevation and variation. This classification is based on the results of sense-changes. An attempt however has been made in recent times to classify sense-changes from a psychological point of view. Semasiology is based by this school of philologists upon the findings of experimental psychology.[143]

In the present state of our knowledge of Tamil words, the application of the psychological method will not yield fruitful results. Sufficient material has not yet been gathered to furnish a satisfactory basis for a synthesis. An attempt is made in the following pages to describe the changes that meanings of words have undergone under the abovementioned heads.

RESTRICTION.

Malayam: Malayam is the poetical name of the Pothiya hill in the Western Ghats.[144] The termination *am* in Malayalam is an epletive suffix. The generic term *Malai* or *Malayam*, (Mount), is restricted to Pothikai by reason of its great celebrity. Pothiyil is a hill of hoary traditions.[145] It is celebrated in ancient songs as 'the eternal hill of the Tamil sage.' The Southern breeze is glorified as *Malaya-marutham*, i.e., the gentle wind of *Malayam*. The *Malayam* of the south is placed on a par with the Imayam (Himalayas) of the north by the national bards.[146] Thus the glorious traditions associated with the Pothikai have exalted it as the hill of hills in the Tamil country.[147]

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143. Meaning and Change of Meaning by G. Stern, p. 5.

144. Malaya is the Sanskrit name of the Western Ghats. Regarding this word Caldwell says "Mala (Ka, Ma, Te) a hill, a mountain; Tamil, malai. This Dravidian root has found its way into the Sanskrit Lexicons as the base of Malaya, the Sanskrit name of the Western Ghats. (C. G. 622).

145. தென்தமிழ்நாட்டகன் பொதியில்...என்றும் அவன் உறைவிடமாம்- கம்ப, நாடவிட்ட, 31.

146. சிலப், மங்கல, 14-18.

147. கலையுணர்வார் பலர்தாமும் தொன்றுதொட்டிக் நாள்வரையும் கடல்சூழ்பாரின்
நிலைபெறுபொன் மலைவெள்ளி மலையாதி யன கோடி நிலவக்கண்டும்
புலைவெறுத்தச் சாபமிட்ட புகழ் முனிவன் வசிப்பிடமாம் பொதியையென்றும்
மலையழகு மிகப்பொலிதல் உணர்ந்தன்றோ மலையம் என வகுக்கின்றாரே
புலவர் புராணம், பொதியாசல, 44.

Pon: In the world of metals, the word *pon* has undergone a restriction in signification which is indicative of the sense of values that prevailed in the ancient Tamil land. *Pon* was originally a general term signifying metal. The specific metal referred to was left to be inferred from the context. Thus, in the expression *tūṇḍil-pon*, the metal of the fish-hook, the word *pon* denotes iron.148 In some cases the metal was indicated by its distinctive colour or other qualities. *Karumpon*, black metal, signified iron; *venpon*, white metal, signified silver. *Aimpon* is a compound of five metals.149 In course of time, however, the irresistible fascination of the yellow metal made it the metal *par excellence*. Hence the word *pon* came to be restricted to gold. In due course, *pon* became a synonym for wealth. The goddess of wealth also is styled *pon*.

Malar: In the world of flowers, the lotus holds a unique place. *Centāmarai*, the red lotus is a perennial source of delight for the poet and has formed the theme for 'the devout effusion of sacred eloquence.' Centāmarai is cherished as the seat of the Goddess of riches. The *veṇtāmarai* is venerated as the seat of the Goddess of learning. In Jainism Arhat is hailed as 'The Lord who walked on the lotus flower.150 Thus the Jaina poets vied with the Hindu bards in celebrating the lotus. These traditions naturally led to the restriction of the general terms *pū* and *malar* to the lotus flower.151 The expression *pātamalar* and *malaraḍi* raise at once the image of the lotus-like feet of the Lord, in our mind.152

Ilai: The term *ilai* denotes the leaves of all trees and plants except the palm.153 Gradually however it came to be restricted to the leaves that were largely used in daily life. The plantain-leaf, perhaps the largest of the leaves, served as the eating-plate and the betel-leaf was used for chewing. These two leaves are denoted by the term *ilai*. *Ilai-vāṇiyan*, a corruption of *ilai-vāṇikan*, refers to the person "whose sole occupation is the cultivation of the betel creeper and selling of its leaves."154 The English word betel is a corruption of the Tamil word *verrilai* the name by which the betel-leaf is commonly known in the Tamil country. "Betel passed into English through the Portuguese where it has assumed the form betre or betel."155

148. தூண்டிற்பொன் மீன்விழுங்கி யற்று, திருக்குறள்,931.
149. ஐம்பொன்-பொன், வெள்ளி, செம்பு, இரும்பு, ஈயம்—Tamil Lexicon.
150. மலர்மிசை நடந்த மலரடி-சிலப், நாடுகாண், 204.
151. பூவெனப்படுவது பொறிவாழ் பூவே-நால்வர் நான்மணி, 40.
152. போற்றியருளுக நின்னாதியாம் பாதமலர்-திருவாசகம், திருவெம், 20.
153. தொல், பொருள். 641, 642.
154. Tamil Lexicon.
155. Hobson-Jobson.

The betel has been the poor man's luxury from the earliest times and Marco Polo has testified to its universal use in the Pandya country in the 13th century.[156] It is regarded in South India as the symbol of happiness and prosperity and hence freely distributed on auspicious occasions. A person who has not the wherewithal to chew betel is considered to be a wretch.[157]

A similar restriction has taken place in the meaning of the word *paccilai*. In ancient poetry *paccilai* is used in the general sense of green leaf.[158] But in modern usage it is restricted to the leaves having medicinal properties. The proverb that "the healing herb (paccilai) in the backyard is not utilised for medicine" illustrates the truth of the old saying that familiarity breeds contempt.

Pul had a more comprehensive connotation in the ancient literary usage. It was the name of a species of plant life. The palmyra, coconut palm and arecanut palm having a hard exterior were classified as *pul*, whereas trees having a hard interior were called *maram*. This distinction is so clearly made in the ancient usage that the leaves of the former class are called *ōlai* and the leaves of the latter are *ilai*. It is remarkable that *pul* came in course of time to be restricted to grass. *Punmai* an abstract noun formed by the addition of the particle *mai* to *pul* stands for meanness. Perhaps the original sense of *punmai* was unsubstantiality. An ignorant person is called *pullan* by Kamban.

Mān: The restriction in sense that has occurred in the terminology of wild life is no less significant. Originally the one-letter word *mā* signified animal in general. Different species of wild life were denoted by words expressive of their distinctive features or attributes. *Kaimmā* denoted the elephant; *pāymā* the horse; *arimā* the lion; *mulmā* the porcupine; *kavarimā* a kind of deer; *karumā* the pig and so forth.[159] As one-letter words in Tamil usually take nasal terminations for self-preservation or better enunciation *mā* became *mān*. Thus originally there was no difference in sense between *mā* and *mān*.[160] In

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156. Marco Polo's Travels, p. 324.

157. வாய்க்கிலை யறிதலில்லான்-சிந்தாமணி, 1230; வெற்றிலை என்றுங் கண்டறியாதவன்-நச்சினார்க்கினியர் உரை.

158. யாவர்க்குமா மிறைவற்கொரு பச்சிலை-திருமந்திரம், 252.

159. யானை (மதமா, பெருமா, மந்தமா, மருண்மா).
புலி (வயமா, வெல்லுமா, பாய்மா,); பன்றி (கருமா, மைம்மா, கோட்டுமா); காட்டுப்பசு (ஆமா, கவயமா).

160. ஆ, மா, கோ, னவ்வணையவும் பெறுமே—நன்னூல்,248.
அரிமா, அரிமான் (சிங்கம்); கவரிமா, கவரிமான் (ஒருவகைமான்); ஆமா, ஆமான் (காட்டுப்பசு); கடுமா, கடுமான் (குதிரை).

course of time, however, the term *mān* came to be restricted to the species of wild life known as deer.

Another one-letter word that has undergone a similar restriction in sense is *ā*. *Ā* became *ān* just as *mā* became *mān*. This word originally signified the female of the ox, the deer and the buffalo.[161] But usage has restricted it to the cow.

The history of *kanṟu* is equally significant. It was originally a term common to the young of the elephant, the horse, the ass, the elk, the cow, the buffalo and some other creatures.[162] But in modern usage *kanṟu* is restricted to the young of the cow and the buffalo. In the colloquial dialect, *kanṟu* is corrupted into *kannu* and *kutti* a word which signifies the young of certain animals is added to it. Thus *kannu-k-kutti* has become the common name for calf. The expression *kannu-viḍal* literally means 'letting the calf.' As this is preliminary to milking the cow or buffalo, *kannu-viḍal* denotes milking.

The names of the castes and tribes of South India afford remarkable instances of restriction. *Antaṇan*, literally means, 'a man of grace.' The quality of grace is indicated by the word *taṇ* which is found between the prefix *am* and the suffix *an*. The exalted sense of the word is explained in the couplet

> அந்தணர் என்போர் அறவோர்மற் றெவ்வுயிர்க்கும்
> செந்தண்மை பூண்டொழுக லான்.[163]

It is obvious that any person who has in him the Divine quality of grace is entitled to the name *antaṇan*.[164] But it has come to denote a caste or community in South India.

Similarly the etymological sense of *vēḷāḷan* is farmer or cultivator. *Vēḷ* is an archaic word which signifies the earth.[165] It is possible that

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161. தொல், பொருள், 570, 571, 572, 573.

162. தொல், பொருள், 565, 568.

163. திருக்குறள், 30.

164. அந்தணர் என்பது அழகிய தட்பத்தினை யுடையாரென ஏதுப்பெயராக லின், அஃது அவ்வருளுடையார் மேலன்றிச் செல்லாதென்பது கருத்து (திருக்குறள், 30, பரிமேலழகர் உரை); அந்தத்தை அணவுவார் அந்தணர் என்பர் நச்சினார்க்கினியர்.

165. The derivation of vēḷāṇmai and vēḷāḷan from vēḷ appears to be more ntaural than the derivation favoured by Caldwell and Kanakasabhai Pillai. According to these scholars Veḷḷāḷar—the lords of the flood—is a title expressive of their skill in controlling floods. It is true vēḷ in the sense of earth is not found in ancient literary usage. The Tamil Lexicon has given this meaning on the authority of the Jaffna Dictionary. Cf., however vēḷkō—(வேட்கோ) vēḷ + kō = potter.

the people who cleared the land of wild growth and made it fit for cultivation were called *vēlālar* (vēl-land, āḷar-owner). Now *vēḷāḷar* has become the name of a particular community.[166]

Vāṇiayan: The word *vāṇiyan* which is a corruption of *vāṇikan* has undergone a curious restriction. Vāṇikan was originally a general name for a hawker or merchant. The names of different commodities were prefixed to the term *vāṇikan*, to distinguish between vendors of different articles. Thus we have *ilai-vāṇikan*, *appa-vāṇikan*, *piṭṭu vāṇikan*, *kūla vāṇikan*, etc. Cāttanār, the illustrious author of Manimekalai was known as *Kūla-vāṇikan-cāttanār* as he was a grain merchant. But the term *vāṇiyan* now denotes the oil monger. The restriction is probably due to the large volume of business conducted by the oil merchant from the earliest times. The use of the gingili oil by the people of South India for various purposes naturally created a large and daily demand for it. "Give to the oil monger and keep the doctor away" is a proverb in Tamil.[167] Thus the important part that the dealer in oil played in the social welfare of South India has led to the restriction of the general term *vāṇiyan* to the oil merchant.

Maṟavar: The word *maṟavar* originally denoted men endowed with physical strength. The primary sense of *maṟam* is heroism. The heroic chastity of Kannaki is styled *maṟa-k-karpu*, by the commentator of Silappadikaram.[168] The undaunted men who delighted in the performance of heroic deeds and who felt that a day passed without a deed of valour was a day lived in vain, were known by the name of maṟavar. An old poem speaks of "the furious maṟavars, whose curled beards resemble the twisted horns of the stag, the loud twang of whose powerful bowstrings and the stirring sound of whose double headed drums, compel even kings at the head of large armies to turn their back and fly."[169] But now the term *maṟavar* denotes the members of a community in South India whose main occupation is agriculture.

Rāvuttar: The term *rāvuttar* is used in the southern districts with reference to Muslims. *Rāut* is a Urdu word which signifies a cavalier. The plural suffix *ar* is commonly used as an honorific singular pronominal termination in the southern speech. This military term has now been adopted as the general title of the Muslim community.

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166. The title kiḻār (கிழார்) conferred on Veḷḷāḷas perhaps indicates that they had full proprietary rights in the soil cultivated by them. (Kiḻamai—right).

167. வைத்தியனுக்குக் கொடுப்பதை வாணியனுக்குக் கொடு-பழமொழி.

168. வீரபத்தினி-மறக்கற்புடையாள்; சிலப், பதிகம், 42, அடி, உரை.

169. Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago, p. 43.

Āmakkaḷ: It is remarkable that popular usage has effected corruptions and introduced restrictions in violation of literary and grammatical usage. *Makkaḷ* for instance, is a general term of plurality common to the masculine and feminine genders. Thus *āṇ-makkaḷ* refers to men in general and *peṇ-makkaḷ* signifies women. Curiously the compound *āṇ-makkaḷ* has been corrupted into *āmakkaḷ* and employed to denote husband in the vulgar dialect.[170] In the same way the term *peṇ-cāti* which obviously denotes the female sex is commonly used with reference to wife.

Āḻvār: The term *Āḻvār* which denotes the cannonised saints of the Vaishnava religion, is derived from the root *āḻ* which contains the sense of immersion. The restriction of the general term *Āḻvār* to the high souls immersed in contemplation is indicative of the popular faith in the efficacy of meditation as a means of attaining salvation.

Aḍiyār: *Aḍiyār* derived from *aḍi* (foot) commonly signifies persons who render service. In the terminology of religion it denotes the devotees. This signification is obviously based on the conception that God is the Lord of the universe and that the human soul can rise to its fullest height by devoted and loyal service to Him.

Cēvakan: *Cēvakan* is derived from the Sanskrit *sēva* which signifies service. From the sovereign who performs the great service of protecting his subjects[171] down to the humblest person who renders some service or other to society or to his fellowmen, every one is therefore a *Cēvakan*. However the restriction of the term in modern language to the policeman who is charged with the duty of maintaining order, is perhaps an evidence of the recognition by the people of the paramount necessity of preserving peace and order for the well-being of human society.

Celavu: *Celavu* now used in the restricted sense of expenditure had originally a wider range of application. Even the marching of troops or military expedition was denoted by it. The ancient work entitled 'Ceṅkōn tarai.c-celavu' is considered to be a treatise on the expedition undertaken by the king Ceṅkōn. Similarly the old Tamil work 'Takaḍūr Yāttirai' of which only fragments are now available, is supposed to describe the conquest of Takaḍūr, the capital of prince Atikamān by a great Chēramān. But in modern usage *celavu* and *yāttirai* have lost their military associations. The former now commonly means expenditure and the latter denotes pilgrimage.

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170. āmakkan (ஆமக்கன்) is a corruption of āmakkaḷ (ஆமக்கள்).

171. சேவகன் சீர் கேளாத செவியென்ன செவியே-சிலப்., ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவை.

Uḍaimai: The restriction in the signification of certain words is indicative of the social opinions which prevailed in ancient times. The literal sense of *uḍaimai* is possession.[172] It signifies not only the possession of earthly goods but of every object or quality with which a person is endowed. *Arivuḍaimai* is possession of knowledge; *Oḻukkamuḍaimai* is possession of character; *poruḷuḍaimai* is possession of wealth. However, the man possessed of wealth is generally honoured and respected by society. Hence the general term *uḍaimai* is restricted to the possession of wealth. The possessor of wealth is called *uḍaiyār*.

Inmai: The opposite of *uḍaimai* is *inmai*. It is derived from the root *il* and signifies the negation of possession. *Illān* denotes a person destitute of wealth. In the couplet of Tiruvalluvar

> உடையார்முன் இல்லார்போல் ஏக்கற்றுங் கற்றார்
> கடையரே கல்லா தவர்[173]

uḍaiyār and *illār* are used in the sense of 'haves' and 'have-nots'. The semantic restriction of these terms exemplifies the truth of the aphorism, "பொருளில்லார்க்கு இவ்வுலகம் இல்லை,"[174] "This world is not for those that are without riches."

Pēru: The restriction that has taken place in the sense of the term *pēru* testifies to the fact that children were regarded as an invaluable treasure by the ancient Tamil community. *Pēru* is derived from the root *peru* and signifies an acquisition.

> "Of all that men acquire, we know not any greater gain,
> Than that which by the birth of learned children men obtain,"[175]

says Tiruvalluvar. The parents are called *peṟṟōr* and the time of parturition or delivery is known as *pēru kālam*.

Iḻavu: The word *iḻavu* comes from the root *iḻa* and signifies a loss. It is therefore applicable to all kinds of loss. In poetry *iḻavu* is used in this general sense.[176] The destiny which is responsible for loss is denoted by the term *iḻavūḻ* in Tirukkural.[177] But a comparative sense of values gradually led to the restriction of the word *iḻavu* to the loss of human life. *Iḻavōlai* denotes funeral intimation; *iḻavu-vīḍu* corrupted into *iḻavīḍu* refers to a house where death has taken place.

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172. எல்லாம் உன் அடிமையே எல்லாம் உன் உடைமையே-தாயுமானவர் பாடல், 49.
173. திருக்குறள், 395.
174. திருக்குறள், 247.
175. திருக்குறள், 61. (G. U. Pope's Translation).
176. எளியேனுற்றால் யாவதனைக்கிங் கிழவென்றான்-கடப, பரிச்சேதம், ௬௨
177. திருக்குறள், 372.

Poḍi: The literal sense of *poḍi* is dust or powder.[178] The sacred ashes are denoted by the term *poḍi* in Tēvāram.[179] In popular parlance, tooth-powder is called *pal-poḍi* and chilli-powder *miḷakāy-p-pōḍi*. But the restriction of the word *poḍi* to snuff in modern usage is perhaps indicative of the popularity of tobacco-powder and its extensive use in South India. The expression *Paṭṭaṇam poḍi* does not refer to the dust of the city but to the high-class snuff manufactured in the city (of Madras).

Kalavai: The luxurious life led by the upper classes in ancient Tamilakam may be understood from the restriction of the general term *kalavai*, mixture, to the sweet smelling paste consisting of sandal and other odorous ingredients.[180]

Oppuravu: *Oppuravu* has been defined as consonance or complaisance. The aphorism *oppura-v-oḻuku* enjoins man to live in consonance with his fellow man. It is significant that the chapter entitled 'Oppuravaṟidal' in Tirukkural deals for the most part with charitable disposition. *Oppuravu* is perhaps "the touch of humanity which makes the whole world kin." However, in modern usage the word has a much restricted sense. Harmony, domestic or communal is commonly signified by it. The expression *ūr-oppuravu* signifies the existence of concord in a village.

Tuppuravu: In classical usage tuppuravu signifies 'the necessaries of life.' This original sense is probably disclosed by the first member of the compound, *tuppu*, which means food. But in modern usage it denotes little more than external purity or cleanliness.

Several Sanskrit derivatives have undergone restriction in Tamil usage. *Utsava* in Sanskrit means 'celebration' in general, but in Tamil *urcavam* is restricted to the temple festival, *Kalyāṇa* is 'anything auspicious' in Sanskrit, but in Tamil *kalyāṇam* is restricted to wedding. *Pānaka* refers to any drink in Sanskrit, but *paṉakkam* or *paṉakam* in Tamil denotes a sweet drink made of lime and sugar. *Sīmai* (Sanskrit, *s'īma*-boundary) has come to denote England in general and London in particular. *Divasa* simply means day in Sanskrit; its connotation is restricted in Tamil to the death anniversary. In popular parlance *tivasam* signifies the ceremonial offerings made to priests for the delectation of the departed souls. Hence the expression *tivasam koḍuttal*. *Vētam* originally meant the sacred books in Sanskrit, In the southern districts, however, a Christian is called *Vēlak-kāran*. The Bible is known as Sattiya Vētam. Hence the name *Vēla-k-kāran*. The Christian church is *Vēla-k-kōyil* and Beschi has given the name Vētiyar to Catechists.

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178. மெய்யிற்பொடியும் விரித்த கருங்குழலும், சிலப், வழக்கு, வெண்பா.
179. பொடியேறு திருமேனி பொலிந்து தோன்றும்-திருநாவுக்கரசர் தேவாரம், திருப்பூவணம், 1.
180. மாமுழுத நறுங்கலவை-கம்ப, ஊர்த்தேடு. 217.

EXPANSION.

Ellai: *el*, *elli* and *ellai* denote day or day-light.[181] The setting of the sun and the consequent disappearance of light marked a definite limit of time to the primitive man who was unaware of the modern contrivances of dispelling darkness. The primitive people who lived a natural life, saw the animate world terminating its activities at the close of the day. The birds ceased to sing and sought repose; the flowers, with a few exceptions closed their petals. In fact the conduct of every significant object in nature indicated the sun-set was a limit. Thus *ellai* came to denote limit. The modern sense of boundary or territorial limit has been acquired by an extension of its application from the limit of time to the limit of space.

Cuḍar: The word *cuḍar* is obviously derived from the root *cuḍu* which contains the idea of heat.[182] It was naturally applied in the first instance to the sun and fire which emit heat. In these natural elements light is inseparably connected with heat. Hence, *cuḍar* came to denote light as well. Luminous bodies such as the moon and the planets also are now denoted by this term.[183]

Urai: The semantic history of the word *urai* is one of systematic expansion. The original sense of *urai* is expression.[184] *Mukavurai*, *aṇinturai*, *punainturai* and *puravurai* signify the foreword.[185] The first stage of expansion is marked by its acquiring the sense of exposition. An explanation, annotation or commentary came to be called *urai*. The terms *patavurai*, *poḻippurai*, *karutturai*, *ciṟṟurai* and *akalavurai* denote different kinds of exposition. The next stage in the semantic progress of the word is reached when it is employed to denote the medium of exposition. Thus *urai* conveys the sense of prose. *Urai-naḍai* is prose style. A composition or an essay in prose is commonly

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181. எல்-பகற்பொழுது; எல்லடிப்படுத்த கல்லாக்காட்சி-புறம், 170, 3. எல்லி-பகற்பொழுது; இரவோ டெல்லியுமேத்துவார்-தேவாரம். எல்லை-பகற்பொழுது; எல்லையு மிரவும் துயில்துறந்து-கலித்தொகை, 123.

182. சுடர் சுட்ட சுரத்தேறி-புறம், 136. விளக்கினுள் ஒண்சுடர்-நாலடியார், 189.

183. சுடர்க்கெலாம் நாயகமனையதோர் மாலைநல்கினன்-கம்ப, மந்தரை சூழ்ச்சி, 52.

184. நன்னூல்-பொதுப்பாயிரம், 1.

185. நன்னூல்-பொதுப்பாயிரம், 21.

denoted by the term *katturai.*[186] In the modern journalistic world *urai* is being used with reference to lectures or addresses. *Munnurai,* is introductory speech, *mudivurai* is concluding speech; *vāltturai* is benedictory address and so forth. Thus through successive stages of easy and natural transition *urai* has expanded from expression to exposition, from exposition to composition in prose and finally from composition to platform oration.

Pulli: *Pulli* is a dot. The consonant in Tamil is known as *pulli* because the dot over the letter constitutes its characteristic sign.[187] In the modern journalistic usage the word *pulli* has acquired the sense of statistics. Statistical information or facts and figures are commonly denoted by the expression, *pulli-vivaram.* In the colloquial dialect *pulli* conveys the sense of a specified or noted person. A deserving person is *perumpulli*; a worthless person is *verumpulli* and so forth.

Mārram: *Mārram* is derived from *māru* which signifies change. An exchange of commodities is known as *paṇdamārru.* Gold which commands a high exchange value is denoted by the expression *mārru-yarnta pon.* Thus *mārram* literally signifies a word exchanged or a reply. However, it is not restricted in literary usage to a reply but employed to denote in general a word spoken or written. This extension of sense must have taken place very early in the history of the Tamil language,[188] since *mārram* has been used in the ancient poems in the sense of word. It is remarkable that *mātta* (Telugu) which corresponds to *mārram* (Tamil) conveys also the same sense.

Paccai: The word *paccai* is obviously connected with *pasumai* which is the natural colour of the living plants and trees. In course of time *paccai* came to denote the quality of a thing existing in a natural state. Unbaked earth is *paccai maṇ* in contra-distinction to *cutta maṇ* baked earth.[189] Unboiled water is known as *paccai-t-taṇṇir* in the popular speech of the southern districts. A tender child is referred to as *paccai-k-kulantai.* The idea of rawness is also associated with the term *paccai.* Raw rice is known as *paccarisi* which is distinguished from *puluk-k-arisi,* boiled rice. A medicine prepared from drugs in a raw state is commonly called *paccai-vettu-maruntu.*

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186. கட்டுரை-பொருள் பொதிந்தசொல்; உறுதியையுடைய சொல்லுமாம்-சிலப், பதிகம், 54-அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் உரை. கலை பயில்தெளிவும் கட்டுரை வன்மையும்-நன்னூல், பொதுப்பாயிரம், 26.

187. மெய்யினியற்கை புள்ளியொடு நிலையல்-தொல், எழுத்து, 15.

188. விடுமாற்றம் வேந்தர்க் குரைப்பான்-திருக்குறள், 689.

189. சுட்டமண்ணும் பச்சைமண்ணும் ஒட்டுமோ?—பழமொழி.

Cempu: *Cempu*, signifies copper. It is evident that the colour of the metal has been the dominant factor in determining its name. This metal was perhaps largely used in primitive times for making drinking vessels of a particular shape and size. The name of the metal, *viz*., *cempu* came to be adopted as the name of the vessel. Hence vessels of that size and shape made of any metal came to be called *cempu*.[190] The name of the metal concerned however is usually prefixed to *cempu* to denote its composition. Thus, we have *pittaḷai-c-cempu*; *veḷḷi-c-cempu*; *tanga-c-cempu*; and *ceppu-c-cempu*, etc.

Mai: The original meaning of *mai* is blackness. Gradually things bearing the black colour came to be denoted by this term. The black pigment used for tinting the eye-lids, the lubricant for the cart, the black ink are all denoted by the word *mai*. In modern usage, however, the word *mai* used with reference to writing, signifies not merely the black ink but any coloured liquid. Hence the expressions *civappu mai* and *paccai mai* are commonly used. The extension of the semantic scope of this word has rendered it necessary to indicate the black ink by the expression *karuppu mai*.

Karai: Similarly, the word *karai* derived from the crude root *kar* signifies blackness. The black stain in the throat of the Lord Siva is styled *karai*.[191] But in modern usage *karai* simply means stain. Yellow stain, is *manjaḷ karai*, blood stain is *iratta-k-karai*. This extension has naturally led to the black stain being called *karuppu-k-karai*.

Ūrtal: The verbal noun *ūrtal* (from *ūr* - to crawl) was originally used in the sense of crawling or moving slowly. In the classification of the animate world the crawling creatures are denoted by the term *ūrvana*.[192] The verbal noun *ūrti* derived from the root *ūr* was probably applied to the slow coach in the first instance and then extended to every kind of carriage. The aerial coach is signified by the term *vāna-ūrti* in an old poem.[193] The moon which seems to crawl across the clouds in this sky is described by the charming phrase *vānūr-matiyam* in Silappadikaram.[194]

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190. Compu (சொம்பு) is a corruption of cempu (செம்பு) in the colloquial dialect. The change of e into o is a common feature in the colloquial dialect, e.g., peṭṭi (பெட்டி) > poṭṭi (பொட்டி);

ceruku (செருகு) > coruku (சொருகு);
meḻuku (மெழுகு) > moḻuku (மொழுகு);
mella (மெல்ல) > meḷḷa (மெள்ள) . moḷḷa (மொள்ள).

191. கறைமிடற்றிறை-கம்ப, திருவவதார, 14.

192. ஊர்வன நடப்பன பறப்பன-தாயுமானவர் பாடல், 5.

193. வலவனேவா வான வூர்தி-புறம், 27, 8.

194. சிலப், மங்கல, 50.

Eṇṇey: *Eṇṇey* (eḷ-ney) literally signifies gingili oil. In course of time, however, the etymological import of the term was forgotten and it came to denote oil in general. Hence the oil extracted from seeds other than sesame is also signified by the term *eṇṇey*. Castor oil is called *āmaṇakku eṇṇey*. Cocoanut oil is *teṅkāy-eṇṇey*. The application of the term is not confined to the oil extracted from seeds and nuts, but extended to all kinds of oily substances. Codliver oil is *mīn-eṇṇey*. Kerosene oil is *maṇ eṇṇey*. The purpose for which the oil is used some times determines the name. The castor oil used for lamps is known as *viḷak-k-eṇṇey*. The wide expansion of *eṇṇey* necessitated a revision of the original semantic values. Since the term *eṇṇey* could not specifically denote gingili oil, popular usage has adopted the device of distinguishing it by a participial prefix which indicates its quality. *Nal-eṇṇey*, good or wholesome oil, signifies gingili oil in the colloquial dialect. The oil extracted from black seasame is commonly known as *kāreḷ-eṇṇey*. The repetition of the word *eḷ* in this compound is obviously due to the obscuration of the etymological sense of *eṇṇey*. 195

Māṭam: *Māṭam* denotes a mansion as well as a temple. The latter sense is found in the names Tūngānai-māṭam, Tān-tōṉṟi-māṭam, conferred on two temples in the Tēvāram. Maṇimāṭam is a Vishnu temple at Naraiyur. Āṭaka-māṭam mentioned in Silappadikaram signifies perhaps the golden temple of Vishnu at Vanchi, the Chera Capital. The streets adjoining a temple are called *māṭa-t-teru* or *māṭa-viti*. This street was naturally in close proximity to the residence of the temple priests and other Brahmins. Hence Silappadikaram mentions māḍa-maṟuku and maṟaiyōr-irukkai, side by side. A niche in the wall of the house usually in the shape of a square or a triangle is known as māṭa-k-kuḻi or Carumaṭam which is a corruption of cuvar-māṭam. The guardian deity of the house *Illuṟai Deyvam* or a portable lamp is usually kept there. The shape of the niche as well as the purpose for which it is used suggests that it might have been intended as an abode of the deity.

Vīḍu: The human habitation is denoted by the classical word *il*, *manai* and *akam*. The hospitable house-hold is *il-l-aṟam* or *manai-y-aṟam* and the head of the house-hold is *il-vāḻvān*. The lady of the house is *il-l-āḷ* or *manai-āḷ*. The conspicuous absence of the corresponding terms, *illān* and *manaiyān* to denote the husband is perhaps illustrative of the paramount position assigned to the wife in domestic affairs. *Akam* also denotes the house. *Am* is the corruption of *akam* in the Brahminical speech. In the southern districts the elderly woman of

195. In the colloquial dialect eṇṇey (எண்ணெய்) is corrupted into eṇṇai (எண்ணை); Cf. மஞ்சணெய் (மஞ்சள் + நெய்)—மஞ்சணை; நன்னெய்—நன்னை.

the house is called *ãtta!* which probably is a corruption of *akattāl*. *Vīḍu* the common word for house in the modern language signified heaven or celestial abode in the ancient usage. It was one of the four objectives of life, called *uruti-p-poruḷ* in Tamil and Purusharta in Sanskrit. In the sense of moksha - deliverance from bondage—*viḍu* is derived from the root *viḍu*, to leave. The conception that the home is the abode of bliss on earth was perhaps responsible for its new connotation. It may be observed in this connection that *Pēr-inpam*, celestial bliss or eternal happiness is used in contra-distinction to *Cir-r-inpam*, the evanescent pleasure of the world in the Tamil literary usage.

DEGRADATION.

Kāmam: The word *kāmam* is generally banished from the language of decent society on account of its degradation. *Kāmi* has been included in the list of persons who are declared unfit to receive instruction.[196] This disqualification has been imposed obviously on grounds of morality. But there is nothing in the etymological sense of the word to warrant this condemnation. The Sanskrit derivative *kāmam* literally signifies desire. In course of time, however, it was restricted by usage to sexual desire, the most potent and universal of human desires. The God of Love in the Hindu mythology is known as *Kāman* and as he awakens love in human hearts he is styled *Kāmavēḷ*.[197] *Kāmam* is cherished as one of the four objectives of life and the prince of moralists, Tiruvalluvar did not disdain to use the term *kāmattu-p-pāl* as the caption of the last canto of his classical work.[198] The cause of the degradation of this term should perhaps be sought in the struggle for existence between *kātal* and *kāmam* which are practically synonymous. In modern usage *kātal* denotes love and *kāmam* is confined to lust.[198-a]

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196. களி மடி மானி காமி கள்வன்........இன்னோர்க்குப் பகரார் நூலே- நன்னூல், பொதுப்பாயிரம், 39.

197. காமவேள் என்னும் நாமத்தனல்-கம்ப, மாயாசனக, 12.

198. மாண்பாய, காமத்தின் பக்கமொரு மூன்றாகக் கட்டுரைத்தார்- திருவள்ளுவமாலை, 27.

198.a. The early missionaries who undertook the task of translating the *Kural* into the European Languages were evidently shocked at this title. Regarding *Kāmattu-p-pāl*, Rev. Drew said that "It could not be translated into any European language without exposing its translator to infamy." The confessions of Dr. Pope may be considered in this connection. "This prejudice" says Pope, "kept me from reading the third part of the *Kuraḷ* for some years; but the idea occurred to me very forcibly that he who wrote,

Tēvaḍiyāḷ: The practice of dedicating girls to the service of God has been in existence from time out of memory. Their service consisted in sweeping and washing the house of the Lord, gathering flowers, making garlands to adorn His image, lighting the halls of the temple at sunset and so forth. The spirit of self-sacrifice and sense of duty that animated these noble girls inspired universal admiration. The respect in which they were held is indicated by the terms *Dēva-dāsi* and *Dēva-aḍiyāḷ*, the maid-servant of the Lord—used with reference to them. However, the act of dedication gradually became the regular practice of a community, and it was not always dictated by considerations of self-less service. Girls who were not religious-minded and who were reluctant to renounce the pleasures of life were dedicated to the temple with the result that they disgraced the office which they were supposed to adorn. The place of their daily service afforded ample opportunities of courting the gaze of men who came to pray. Thus the term *dēva-aḍiyāḷ* came to denote the courtesan. The degradation which the word has suffered can be understood from the fact that no term of abuse in the Tamil vocabulary is resented more than *tēvaḍiyāḷ* used with reference to a woman, and *tēvaḍiyāḷ makan* used with reference to a man.

Kūtti: The art of dancing was very popular in ancient days. It received the munificent patronage of kings and princes. The popularity that it enjoyed was perhaps due to its association with religion. The male dancer was called *kūttan* and the female dancer *kūtti*. The terminations *an* and *i* in these words are masculine and feminine suffixes. In course of time, however, the art of dancing came to be confined to the community which dedicated girls to the service of God. The *dēva-dāsi* in addition to her routine service in the temple danced on festive occasions to the delight of the vast concourse of votaries. Thus the terms *dēva-dāsi* and *kūtti* became synonyms. In modern usage *kūtti* denotes the prostitute without any reference to her attainments in the art of dancing.

Muṇḍai: The term *muṇḍan* and *muṇḍai* are derived from the Sanskrit *muṇḍa*. The former denotes a clean-shaven man and the latter a clean-shaven woman. The practice of shaving the head of a woman on the death of her husband was responsible for the word *muṇḍai* being used with reference to the widow. As the woman who

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"Spotless be thou in mind! This only merits virtue's name
All else, mere pomp and idle sound, no real worth can claim."

could not have covered himself with the spotted infamy of singing a song of lust. Thus I ventured at length to read and study it, when I was able fairly to appreciate its spirit; and, as the result, I translate it, believing that I shall be regarded as having done service in doing so."—Pope's Kural, intro., p. 13.

survived her husband was considered an execrable creature, whose very sight was an abomination, the term *muṇḍai* has acquired an odious signification.

Ciṟukki: The terms *ciṟuvan* and *ciṟukkan* denote the boy, and *ciṟuvi* and *ciṟukki* denote the girl.[199] The regularity of the formation of these words is obvious. However, these words have given place to *ciṟumi* which is the common term for girl in the modern language. *Ciṟumi* is formed by the substitution of *m* for *v*. It has been pointed out by Aḍiyārkkunallār that the word *ciṟumi* employed in Silappadikaram is a dialect of Kuḍanāḍ, one of the Koḍun-tamiḻ countries. Provincial words have been, from time to time employed by poets of great celebrity and have thus acquired the status of literary words.[200] It is probable that *ciṟumi* was one of such words. When literary status was thus conferred on it, a struggle for existence between the three words commenced. The result of the contest was perhaps determined by euphony and *ciṟumi* was selected as the fittest word to survive. The defeat sustained by the indigenous words, led to the degradation of the one and the extinction of the other. *Ciṟukki* is now used as a term of disrespect or abuse and *ciṟuvi* has become obsolete.

Tūṟṟu-tal: The primitive sense of *tūṟṟu* is to broadcast. If the virtues of a person are broadcast or proclaimed the expression *cīr-tūṟṟal* is employed to denote the act. On the other hand speaking ill of a person is *avatūṟu*. The ordinary nature of man to suppress the virtues and proclaim the vices of his fellow-men is reflected in the restriction of the term *tūṟṟu* or *tūṟṟal* to the publication of vices or demerits.[201] Thus in the modern language *tūṟṟutal* definitely signifies slandering or abusing a person.

Puṟaṅkūṟal: The depravity of human nature is also reflected in the change that has occurred in the meaning of the expression *puṟaṅkūṟal* (puram-back; kūṟal-speaking), which literally means speaking behind one's back. It is human nature to flatter a man to his face and speak ill of him behind his back. There are persons in this world who never speak ill of others either in their presence or in their absence. But these virtuous persons are so rare that they are an exception to the rule. The reprehensible but common habit of humanity accounts for

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199. துளிஇலைவளர்க்த சிறுக்கன்-பெரியாழ்வார், 1, 4, 7.
சிறுக்கிகள் உறவாமோ-திருப்புகழ், 145.
சிறுவி-மகள், சூடாமணி நிகண்டு.

200. தொல், சொல், 400, உரை.

201. செல்லாம் தூற்றிச் சிறுமை புறங்காத்துச் செறிவிலக்கம், 20
துன்னியார் குற்றமும் தூற்றுமியல்பினர்-திருக்குறள், 188.

the restriction and degradation of the expression *puraṅkaral*. Backbiting is denoted by it in the modern language.

Pukal: The ancient Tamils considered it a meritorious act to afford shelter and protection to an afflicted person who sought refuge. The word *pukal* derived from the root *puku*, to enter, signifies the act of seeking protection and as an appeal for protection was seldom refused, *pukal* came to denote a refuge. A place of refuge is known as *pukaliḍam* or *pukalūr*. The word of protection was regarded as a sacred promise worthy of any sacrifice. Ancient literature speaks of the glory of high-souled men who ungrudgingly sacrificed their lives in the cause of the sacred trust committed to their care. The deterioration of *pukal* which is associated with the lofty ideal of self-sacrifice is sufficient evidence of the moral degeneracy of modern society. *Pukal vārttai* now signifies not a word of assurance but an insincere or evasive word.

Cūḻcci: The root *cūḻ* literally means surround. *Cūḻal* a verbal noun derived from this root signifies an enclosure. *Cūḻcci* another noun derived from the same root denotes the act of comprehensing a thing in all its aspects or of considering a question from all possible points of view. A person who is endowed with this capacity is known as *cūḻvān*.[202] In modern usage, however, *cūḻcci* has acquired an uncomplimentary sense. It is generally associated with intrigue, diplomacy or conspiracy.[203] The degradation of the term is perhaps due to the ordinary human fraility of putting noble gifts to ignoble uses.

Āṇḍi: *Āṇḍi* is derived from the root *āḷ* which forms the base of the words *āṇḍai*, *āṇḍān*, etc. The Lord of Palani is popularly known as *Paḻaniyāṇḍi*. *Āṇḍipaṇḍāram* in the familiar ballad refers to Him. The Lord of Tiruchendur situated on the sea-shore is popularly known as *kaḍal-karai-āṇḍi*. The term *āṇḍi*, however, is now restricted to the Saiva mendicant. The expression *pūccāṇḍi* frequently invoked by parents to frighten children into submission, probably signifies the mendicant whose body is smeared with holy ashes and sandal paste presenting an odd appearance.[204]

Pāvi: *Pāvi* signifies a sinner. *Appāvi* denotes a sinless person as the initial *a* is a negative prefix. In modern usage, however,

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202. சூழ்வார்கண் ணாக ஒழுகலான் மன்னவன்
சூழ்வாரைச் சூழ்ந்து கொளல்.-திருக்குறள், 445.

203. Tamil Lexicon.

204. According to the Tamil Lexicon, pūccāṇḍi is composed of pūcci and āṇḍi (Pūccāṇḍi—An imaginary being invoked to frighten children; bugbear; hobgoblin).

appāvi denotes an artless, credulous simpleton. This deflection from the original sense bears testimony to the moral perversity of human race. Words like this 'bear on them the slime of the serpent's trail'.[205]

Maruttuvan, Maruttuvacci: The words *maruttuvan* and *maruttuvacci* are obviously derived from *maruntu*, medicine. A medical practitioner was called *maruttuvan* or *maruttuvacci* according to the sex of the person. An old Tamil poet and critic was known among his contemporaries as *Maruttuvan Dāmōtaran* as he was a doctor as well as a scholar. But now *maruttuvan* has deteriorated so much that even the most enthusiastic exponent of the indigenous system of medicine will hesitate to call himself a *maruttuvan*. The word *maruttuvacci* has similarly suffered a restriction and degradation. It signifies in popular parlance a midwife.[206]

Ūḷiyam: *Ūḷiyam* connected with *ūḷ*, destiny, probably signifies customary or hereditary service, i.e., service which a person is called upon to render not for wages or remuneration, but in pursuance of immemorial custom or ancestral obligations. Such a service will naturally be perfunctory and unsatisfactory. Hence *ūḷiyam* in popular language denotes worthless service. It is a matter of common knowledge that *sarkār ūḷiyam*, perhaps the customary manual service rendered gratis to the government, connotes inefficient service. The original sense of *ūḷiyam* is however indicated in the term *polujana-ūḷiyan* applied to a person who devotes himself to the service of humanity without any consideration of reward or recompense.

Cēri: The original sense of *cēri* derived from the root *cēr*, is a collection of huts or houses. The termination *cēri* in certain place-names serves to indicate the nature of the original habitation. Puducēri means a new hamlet: Vaḍacēri is northern hamlet: Talai-c-cēri is principal hamlet; Aḍi-c-cēri is degraded hamlet.[207] In some cases *cēris* have been named after the clans or communities which originally founded them.[208] For instance, Kārsēri denotes the hamlet of Kārāḷar, in the Tinnevelly District. Similarly the habitation of the Paḷḷas is known as *paṭcēri* which has become *paccēri* by assimilation. The hamlet of the Paraiyas was called

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205. Trench—The Study of words, p. 95.

206. It seems that a community in South India has assumed the name maruttuva kulam in recent times.

207. Aḍi-c-cēri-yāḷ corrupted into aḍicariyāḷ denotes the prostitute in the colloquial dialect of the southern districts of the Tamil country.

208. Peruṅkadai speaks of several cēris :—yavana-c-cēri; Tamiḷa-c-cēri; antanarcēri; amaiccar cēri, etc. Ref. Peruṅkadai, III, 4, (7, 11, 12, 13).

paraiccēri. In course of time, the term *cēri* came to denote hamlets inhabited by "untouchables," particularly Paḷḷās and Paraiyas. Hence in modern usage *cēri* denotes the habitation of these classes situated at a respectable distance from the village or town. 209

Nāṟṟam: The original sense of the word *nāṟṟam* is sweet smell. The abstract noun *naṟumai* derived from the root *naṟu* signifies good smell. *Naṟu* was used in old Tamil in connection with words which signified sweet smelling things. The expressions, *naṟu malar, naṟu-ney,* etc., are found in ancient poetry. 210 The first stage of the degeneration of this word is marked by the expansion of its signification so as to make it convey the general sense of smell. Thus *nāṟṟam* came to be used also in connection with objects emitting bad odour such as putrefied meat, carcass, etc., e.g., *pulāl nāṟṟam, piṇa nāṟṟam*. 211 The final stage of degradation was reached when the term came to denote definitely bad odour, in the colloquial dialect. It is significant that *nāṟal* is now used only with reference to things emitting bad smell. *Nāṟal-ney* for instance is distinguished from *nalla ney*, good ghee.

Kuppai: Kuppai, kuviyal and *kuvai* are derived from a root which signified simply a heap or collection. This primary sense of *kuppai* is traceable in the expressions *nel-kuppai, malar-k-kuppai, niti-k-kuppai,* etc. But in course of time kuppai came to be degraded and restricted to a heap of dirt or filth. In Madras the scavenger is commonly called *kuppai-k-kāran* and the rubbish bin is *kuppai-t-toṭṭi*.

ELEVATION.

Piḷḷai: In the earliest usage *piḷḷai* signified the tender stage of plants, and the young of animals, birds and crawling creatures. 212 The infant cocoanut palm is commonly called *tennam piḷḷai*. The parrot, the squirrel and the mongoose are fondly called *kiḷi-p-piḷḷai, aṇil-piḷḷai* and *kiri-p-piḷḷai*. In the ancient literary usage the offspring of human beings were signified by the terms *makavu* and *kuḻavi*. 213 Gradually, *piḷḷai*

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209. Tamil Lexicon.

210. நறுமலர்க் கோதை - சிலப், மனையறம், 62. பொன்னின்சோதி
போதினின் நாற்றம் - கம்ப, மிதிலைக்காட்சி.

211. புன்புலால் நாற்றம் புறம்பொதிந்து மூடினும்
சென்றுரைக்கும் சேயார் முகத்து - நீதிநெறி, 95.

212. தொல், பொருள், 556, 559, 560, 566.

213. தொல், பொருள், 556, 578. மடியகத்திட்டாள் மகவை - சிலப்,
கஉ, 22.

which had become a term of endearment was applied to the human offspring and since it was neuter, the sex-denoting terms *āṇ* and *peṇ* were prefixed to it when necessary. Thus *āṇ-piḷḷai* and *peṇ-piḷḷai* were used with reference to boys and girls. The expressions *āṇ-piḷai-p-piḷḷai* and *peṇ-piḷai-p-piḷḷai* in which piḷḷai is reduplicated, are absurd creations of popular usage. There is a tendency in the colloquial dialect to restrict the term pillai to the boy. The question *piḷḷayā, peṇṇā* asked with reference to a child newly ushered into existence, is indicative of the popular restriction of the word *piḷḷai* to the male child. The grand-son is *pēra-p-piḷḷai* and the grand-daughter is *pētti-p-peṇ*. The elevation of *piḷḷai* may also be understood by its association with persons entitled to respect. The bridegroom is known as *māppiḷḷai* or *maṇavāḷa-p-piḷḷai*. The respectable vellalas, the agriculturists *par excellence*, have the title *piḷḷai* affixed to their names.

Pārppu was originally used in connection with the young of birds and crawling creatures.[214] *Pārppu* became *pāppu* by the elimination of the medial liquid. The elevation and restriction of this word may be understood from its application to young girls. *Pāppā* is a pet name for the girl. It is well-known that Bharati's *Pāppā-p-pāṭṭu* is addressed to the young girl.[215]

Kuṭṭi and *kunju* have attained expansion and elevation in usage. Generally it may be said that *kuṭṭi* is used with reference to the young of animals and *kunju* to the young of birds. This distinction is also indicated by the appropriate verbs which usage has associated with them. The act of bringing forth young birds from eggs is known as *kunju porittal* whereas the act of bringing forth young animals is called *kuṭṭi-pōḍutal*.

Both *kuṭṭi* and *kunju* are now applied to young children as terms of endearment. The youngest boy or girl in a family especially the latter is affectionately called *kuṭṭi*. Sometimes these nursery names exist side by side with the proper names of persons even after they come of age. Kuṭṭi ammāḷ, Aiyā-k-kuṭṭi, are names commonly found in the southern districts. Similarly Kunjammāḷ and Kunjuppiḷḷai illustrate the elevation of the word *kunju* in the popular speech.

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214. தொல், பொருள், 559, 560, 569. (பார்ப்புடை மந்தி, குறுந், 278, என வருதலுமுண்டு.)

215. ஓடிவிளையாடு பாப்பா-பாரதி பாடல், பாப்பாப்பாட்டு

Ōtu: The original meaning of the verb *ōtu* is to read or learn. The classical commentators have used it in connection with variations in textual readings. In modern literary usage however *ōtutal* has acquired the sense of chanting hymns or mantras. *Ōtuvār* refers to the class of persons who regularly chant the sacred hymns during worship in the Siva temples. The act of offering sacred ashes, water or food, charged with spiritual power by the muttering of mantras for effecting a cure or for dispelling the forces of evil is commonly known as *ōti-k-koḍuttal*. *Ōttu*, the verbal noun, derived from the root *ōtu*, denotes Scripture.

Iraval: The three words *iravu*, *irattal* and *iraval* denote begging. These terms are derived from the verbal root *ira*, to beg, by the addition of different suffixes of the verbal noun. The expressions *iraval-mākkaḷ* and *iravalan* denote beggars.[216] *Iravalan* is formed by attaching the masculine singular suffix *an* to the verbal noun *iraval*.[217] But in modern usage *iraval* denotes not begging but borrowing. A thing got from a person for temporary use is known as *iraval-sāmān*. This deviation from the literal sense which is a consequence of the elevation of the term is perhaps due to the severe condemnation of beggary as a demoralising and debasing act by the national poets whose words were cherished by the ancient community.

Nanri: An act of goodness or kindness is denoted by the terms *nalam*, *nanmai*, *nanru*[218] and *nanri*,[219] derived from the common root *nal*. "It is improper and ignoble to forget an act of kindness done by another," says Tiruvalluvar.[220] This idea is probably responsible for importing into the word *nanri*, the sense of gratitude. While *nalam*, *nanmai* and *nanru* retain their original meaning of goodness, *nanri* has, in modern usage, acquired the sense of gratitude. *Nanri kūral* is now commonly used in the sense of offering thanks. This transference of sense perhaps bears testimony to the recognition of the principle that one good turn deserves another. "It is a matter of comment by Europeans," says Tagore, "that we use no word like thanks in our own language for expressing gratitude, and they jump to the conclusion

216. புறம், 333, 10.

217. புறம், 162, 1.

218. ஒன்றுநன் றுள்ளக் கெடும், திருக்குறள், 109. நன்று-நன்மை.

219. திருக்குறள், 102, நன்றி, நன்மை, உபகாரம்.

220. நன்றிமறப்பது நன்றன்று (திருக்குறள், 108); எந்நன்றி கொன்றார்க்கு முய்வுண்டாம் உய்வில்லை செய்ந்நன்றி கொன்ற மகற்கு, திருக்குறள், 110.

that our character must be free from that troublesome feeling."[221] The change that has been effected in the meaning of the word *nanri*, a change which shows that gratitude is ingrained in our being, may be regarded as a sufficient refutation of the charge. The observations of Trench regarding the word obligation may be considered in this connection. "In 'oblige' and 'obligation' says Trench, as when we speak of being obliged or having received an obligation, a moral truth is asserted, namely, that having received a benefit or a favour at the hands of another we are thereby morally bound to show ourselves grateful for the same. We cannot be ungrateful without denying not merely a moral truth, but one incorporated in the very language which we employ."[222]

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Kaḷippu: This is obviously derived from *kaḷ*. A person addicted to drink is called *kaḷi* in old poetry.[223] The author of Nannul has placed *kaḷi* first in the list of persons unfit to receive instruction.[224] Since the person under the influence of intoxicating liquor makes merry, the words *kaḷippu* and *kaḷittal* came to signify merriment or happiness. In modern language these terms are used in the sense of happiness or ecstasy without any reference to the state of intoxication.

Kaḻakam: Originally *kaḻakam* signified the place where gamesters habitually assembled to play dice. The gradual elevation in the sense of this term is denoted by the expression *kalai teri kaḻakam*, 'the place where arts are cultivated,' used by Kamban. In modern usage *Kaḻakam* is generally employed to denote a Sangam or Sabah. An association is called *kaḻakam*, the University is pal-kalai-k-kaḻakam and so forth.

Kāṭci means sight. It is derived from the verbal root *kāṇ*. A slight elevation in the sense of this word is noticeable in its associations. A pleasant sight is *kaṇ-kāṭci*. Exhibition is *poruḷ-kāṭci*. The chapter in Kamban's Ramayanam which deals with the hero's love at first sight is styled Mitilai-k-kāṭci-p-paḍalam. *Darisanam* (Skt. darsana) the Sanskrit equivalent of *kāṭci* is commonly used in Tamil in connection with divinity or exalted personality. For instance, worship of God is Swami darisanam and the sight of a saint is Sādhu darisanam.

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221. The Indian ideal of marriage—Tagore.
222. Trench—The Study of words—pp. 93, 94.
223. களித்தறியேன் என்பது கைவிடுக - யான் கள்ளுண்டறியேன் என்று கூறுதலையொழிக, பரி, (உரை)-திருக்குறள், 928; கள்ளுண் ணாப்போழ்திற் களித்தானைக் காணுங்கால்-திருக்குறள், 930.
224. நன்னூல், பொதுப்பாயிரம், 39.

Pārvai literally means glance. It is also used in the restricted sense of effecting a cure by means of mystic sight. *Diruṣṭi* (Skt. Dṛṣṭi) is the Sanskrit equivalent of this word. But *diruṣṭi* is generally associated with the evil eye. In the speech of the southern districts it is more commonly found in the compound *kaṇ-diruṣṭi* which signifies the effect of the evil eye.

Closely connected with the word *diruṣṭi* is *atiruṣṭam* (Skt. adṛṣṭa). The literal sense of the word is 'that which is not seen.' Hence it may be good or bad luck. But it has acquired the meaning of good luck or fortune. Usually an unexpected good thing with which a person is favoured is ascribed to *atiruṣṭam*. Bad luck is denoted by t e term *tur-atiruṣṭam*.

The habits and qualities of men are sometimes reflected in the semantic changes of the words current among them. *Saivam* for instance, is the name of the religion which is connected with Siva. Hence *saivan* is a follower of that religion. But now *saivam* and *saivan* have obtained a peculiar significance. A vegetarian is *saivan* and a non-vegetarian is *a-saivan*. Vegetarian hotel in the southern districts is called 'saivāḷ viḍuti, as distinguished from a non-vegetarian hotel which is sometimes curiously called 'military hotel.'

The cook in a Saivite house is known as *tavasi-p-piḷḷai*, a term which shows that religion was a living reality in the Saivite home. Tavasi-p-piḷḷai is a corruption of tavasu-p-piḷḷai. The house-holder is expected according to Aṟanūl or Dharmashastra to perform five kinds of vēḷvi or tapas. Hence tapasu-p-piḷḷai came to denote the person who prepared the food and other things necessary for the due performance of the duties cast upon the householder. The circumstance that the word is widely current in the Saivite community shows that the Saivites practised religion in their daily life.

Tiru : The highest reverence that the ancients of this country had for Saivam and Vaishnavam, the two main systems comprised in the so-called Hinduism in South India, is reflected in the prefix *tiru* attached to the two asterisms, *ātirai* and *ōṇam*. *Ātirai* pertains to Siva and *Ōṇam* is associated with Vishnu. The festival *Tiru-v-ātirai* at Chidambaram and elsewhere is celebrated with great religious fervour by the Saivites. The asterism which is denoted by the term *Ōṇam* in Malabar is commonly called *Tiruvōṇam* in the Tamilnad.

Tīrttam: The Sanskrit derivative *tīrttam* is generally preferred to *nīr* or *taṇṇīr* in the Brahmanical usage. This preference has been perhaps responsible for the elevation which it has attained in popular usage. *Tīrttam* signifies sacred water. The holy water distributed in temples as a symbol of divine grace is known as *tīrttam*. The holy bath

is *tirtta-vāri*; the receptacle of holy water is *tirtta-t-toṭṭi* and so forth. This elevation is recognised in literary usage. Naladiyar, illustrates the ennobling influence of exalted company thus: "When the sewage water of the city mixes with river water, even its name is changed; it becomes *tirttam*."

Sanniti: Sanniti in Sanskrit simply means 'front,' but in Tamil *Sanniti* or *Sannitānam* is the space in front of the deity in the temple or saintly personage. The Saivite head of the Mutt at Tiruvavaduturai and Dharmapuram is styled '*Paṇḍāra Sanniti*' and their holy presence is '*Sannitānam*' which in the corrupt form '*Sannānam*' is very familiar in the monostic circles.

Savāl: It is perhaps one of the words that modern politics has contributed to the Tamil vocabulary. It is a corruption cf the Persian *suvāl*, which means asking or beseeching. Among the Muslims of South India the expression 'Suvāl Ceytal' is used in the sense of beseeching or begging. In the journalistic language, however, *savāl* has attained considerable elevation. It conveys the meaning of 'challenge.'

VARIATION

Viruntu: This word has wandered away from its original moorings. Its primitive sense, according to Parimēlaḻakar is newness, and *viruntinar* therefore signified literally new-comers or strangers.[225] According to the moral law which prevailed in the ancient Hindu society it was the duty and the privilege of the householder to entertain deserving strangers who called at his door for succour or sustenance. "The offering of hospitality," says Tagore, "is incumbent on the house-holder for his own sake. Each of the domestic ceremonies, from the birth celebration to the funeral is but an expression of the debt which each member owes to his community. From this it becomes evident that our society is not like a stream on which its members float in comparative freedom but like the earth in whose depths their root system is held secure."[226] In Tamil, *viruntu* originally signified the hospitality offered to wayfarers, mendicants and ascetics.[227] But it connotes in modern usage a sumptuous feast given to friends or relations.

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225. விருந்தென்பது புதுமை; அஃதீண் டாகு பெயராய்ப் புதியராய் வந்தார் மேல்நின்றது (திருக்குறள், 43, பரிமேலழகர் உரை).

226. The Indian ideal of marriage—Tagore.

227. Dr. Pope says that "*viruntu* (விருந்து) has now degenerated into the feeding of promiscuous multitudes in various charitable foundations" (Pope's Kural, 211.) It is doubtful if viruntu is used in this sense in the Tamil country.

Paratēsi: The most common word for the beggar or religious mendicant in the Tamil country is *paratēsi.* It has always been considered a meritorious act to feed and clothe the poor pilgrims who tour the country from one end to the other, offering prayers at the holy shrines and washing the sins of their soul in the sacred waters. Such a person is a *paratēsi*—literally a person of another country or a foreigner. The hospitality which these deserving pilgrims enjoyed at the hands of the charitable house-holder, has induced all beggars including those of our own country, to style themselves *paratēsi* and exploit the religious sentiment.

Ceyti: *Ceyti,* and *ceykai* are derived from the common root *cey,* and used as synonyms in literature.[228] A good turn done to a person is denoted by the term ceyti in an ancient poem. However, it has now deviated considerably from its original import and is commonly used in the sense of tidings or news. The common query '*enna ceyti?*' simply means 'what news?'

Kēḷvi: The verbal noun *kēḷvi* is derived from the root *kēḷ* to hear or listen. Hence the literal sense of *kēḷvi* is listening or hearing. Listening to the words of the learned was a recognised mode of acquiring knowledge in the ancient system of education.[229] Instruction received through the ear was cherished as an invaluable treasure. The most precious of treasures according to Tiruvalluvar is the treasure of the ear.[230] The verbal noun *kēṭṭal,* is derived from the same root and conveys the same sense. 'It is better to listen than to learn' is an aphorism in which *kēṭṭal* is used in the sense of listening.[231] In the modern language, however, words derived from the root *kēḷ* convey the idea of query. Questions set for an examination are commonly known as *kēḷvi.* It is perhaps possible to understand the cause of this transference of sense. The listener of old was not always a passive recipient of instruction. He asked questions with a view to clearing his doubts and difficulties or obtaining further elucidation. There is evidence to show that such questions received the most earnest attention of the ancient preceptors who were anxious to impart exact knowledge

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228. செய்திகொன்றார்க் குய்தியில்-புறம், 34.

229. கேள்வி-கேட்கப்படு நூற்பொருள்களைக் கற்றறிந்தார் கூறக்கேட்டல், (திருக்குறள், அதி, 42, முகவுரை).

230. செல்வத்துட் செல்வம் செவிச்செல்வம் அச்செல்வம் செல்வத்து ளெல்லாம் தலை-திருக்குறள், 411.

231. பழமொழி நானூறு-5.

to their pupils. Thus a listener became a questioner and hence *kēlvi* which literally signified listening came to denote questioning.[232]

Cāraṇar : In the old usage *cāraṇar* signifies messengers or spies. In the Jaina and Buddhist literature *cāraṇar* denotes a class of highly evolved souls endowed with supernatural powers.[233] In the modern speech, however, it denotes the scouts. The scout movement is commonly known as *cāraṇar-iyakkam.* Perhaps the authority of the person who first employed the old word in the new sense and its adoption by others who for want of a more suitable word acquiesced in it, have secured general recognition and acceptance for this new signification.

Vāsal: The entrance to a house was originally denoted by the compound *il-vāy* (il—house, vāy—entrance or passage). *Il-vāy* became *vāyil* by the peculiar process of inversion recognised by Tamil literary usage.[234] Thus *vāyil* came to denote entrance or doorway. *Vāyil* has been corrupted into *vāsal* in the colloquial dialect. (*vāyil* > *vāyal* > *vāsal*). The eastern entrance is denoted by the expression *kuṇa-vāyil. Kuḍavāyil* corrupted into *kuḍavāsal* signifies the western entrance. The stepping stone in the door-way is known as *vāsaṟ-paḍi.* If a house has several apartments and consequently several doorways, the first door-way is called *talai-vāsal,* the intermediate door-way *iḍai-vāsal* and the postern doorway *puṟa-vāsal.* In modern usage, however, the term vāsal is used in a slightly varied sense. The courtyard in front of a house is commonly called *vāsal,* in the colloquial speech, and the backyard is known as *puṟa-vāsal.* It is worthy of note that in the old usage the court-yard was denoted by the compound word *ilmun* which by inversion became *munṟil.*[235] In the modern language it is changed into *muṟṟam.* *Vāsal* and *muṟṟam* which originally signified two distinct places are now employed as synonyms in several parts of the Tamil country.

Maṇai : The word *maṇai* derived from the root *maṇ*— earth, takes us back to the primitive times when a low earthern dais was improvised by men for sitting on at ease. As civilisation advanced, wooden dais came into existence. But the old word *maṇai* was adopted as the name of the wooden seat as the etymological sense of it had been effectively obliterated by time. Then the wooden instrument devised for ginning

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232. இருப்பதோ, இறப்பதோ, சதாம்கேள்வி (அமலாதித்யன், அங், 3, கா. 1) is the translation of 'To be or not to be—that is the question.' (Hamlet)

233. சாரணர் வாய்மொழிகேட்டு-சிலப், காடுகாண், 192.

234. நன்னூல், 267, இலக்கணப்போலி.

235. In mun-ṟ-il, ṟ is said to be intrusive.

cotton—an instrument fitted with a low wooden seat for the operator, came to be called *manai*. The wooden piece on which a cutting instrument is mounted is known as *arivāḷ-manai* corrupted into *aruvāmanai* in the common speech.

Karuppu-k-katti: Sugar-cane Jaggery is signified by the word *karuppu-k-katti.* It is composed of *karumbu* and *katti* and obviously means cane-sugar.[236] But in the modern colloquial dialect *karuppu-k-katti* does not mean cane-sugar but palmyra jaggery. It is possible that the mistaken notion, that *karuppu* in the compound *karuppu-k-katti* signified the colour of the substance, was responsible for this change. Now *vellam* is used with reference to cane-sugar and *karuppu-k-katti* and its corruption *karuppatti* denote palmyra jaggery.

The conservative instinct of the community accounts for the existence of several anomalies in the vocabulary of a language. The incompatibility between the words and the objects denoted by them is evidently due to the inability of vocabulary to adjust itself to the changes effected by the advance of civilisation. A lease-deed is still called *aḍai-y-ōlai* though the document evidencing the lease is no longer a cadjan leaf. A grain measure is called *marakkāl* although it has long ceased to be a wooden thing. The circular iron plate on which rice-cake is baked continues to bear the name *tōsai-k-kal,* (rice-cake stone). The waist-cord though made of gold or silver goes by the humble name arai-nāṇ, (waist-thread).

Variations or displacements of meaning are sometimes due to a loose application of words. The common people to whom language is merely a practical medium of expression, do not care to acquaint themselves with the accurate significations of words or even if they are aware, do not care to use them in their exact sense. For the sake of effect, words of serious import are pressed into service and made to signify trifles. The word *amar-k-kaḷam* for instance, is a victim of this popular tendency. It literally denotes the battle-field, (amar-battle; kaḷam-field), and raises in the mind of an accurate scholar the image of a blood-stained field covered with mangled limbs of men and beasts and filled with the din of clashing arms and cries of dying soldiers. But in the colloquial dialect the word is employed to signify things that are devoid of these terrific associations. The confusion created by children in the house by throwing things pell-mell, the excitement caused at meetings by interruptions or interrogations and occurrences like these are now denoted by this term.

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236. கட்டியினரிசியும் புழுக்கும் காணமும்-சிந்தாமணி, 1938, கட்டி-கருப்புக்கட்டி, நச்சினார்க்கினியர் உரை.

The expression *mallāḍal* literally means wrestling. *Mallan* is a wrestler or pugilist. The dance of Lord Krishna after killing Bāṇa in a wrestle, is denoted by the technical expression *mallāḍal*.[237] In popular usage, however, the term is used with reference to the less serious and perhaps less harmful practice of bandying words. The proverb "கல்லாடம் படித்தவனோடு மல்லாடாதே"[238] is current in cultured society. The idea contained in the saying is that *Kallāḍam* is such a classical treatise that one who has closely studied it, will easily carry the palm in any literary controversy.

Manṛāḍal is another term that has undergone a restriction and variation in sense. *Manṛu* or *manṛam* is used in ancient poetry in the sense of Sabha.[239] Silappadikaram describes the five manṛams situated at Pukār, the principal sea-port city of the early Cholas.[240] In course of time, however, the term was restricted to the court of justice commonly known as *nīti-manṛam*. Hence *manṛāḍal* came to denote pleading in a court of justice. *Manṛāḍi* is used in the Periyapuranam in the sense of litigant.[241] In modern usage *manṛāḍal* simply means making a fervent and persistent appeal or request, and has no reference to the tribunal of justice.

A storm in a tea-cup is denoted by the term *amaḷi* in popular parlance. *Amaḷi* is a corruption of *amalai*: (amalai > amali > amaḷi). In primitive warfare the soldiers used to gather round the fallen leader of the foemen on the battle-field and sing and dance in jollity.[242] The tipsy dance of the victorious warriors was naturally tumultuous. Hence *amaḷi* denotes an uproar or tumult.

The dance known as *kuravai* was a favourite amusement in ancient times.[243] The *kuravai* dance of the Kurava and the Shepherd girls are vividly described in Silappadikaram.[244] Kuravai as a dance is unknown at present, but the word *kulavai*, a corruption of *kuravai*, exists in the plain vocabulary of the peasantry to remind us of the glories of the past.

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237. அவுணற்கடந்த மல்லினாடலும், சிலப், கடலாடு, 48, 49.

238. தமிழ் இலக்கிய வரலாறு (கா. சுப்பிரமணிய பிள்ளை), 329.

239. மன்றம்-சபை-பிங்கலநிகண்டு; பாவைமன்றம்-சிலப், இந்திர, 138.

240. ஐவகை மன்றத்தமைதியும் காண்குறும்-சிலப், கடலாடு, 17. ஐவகை மன்றத்தின் அமைதியை இந்திரவிழவூரெடுத்த காதையிற் காண்க.

241. பழையமன்றாடி போலும் இவன்-பெரியபுராணம், தடுத்தாட், 48.

242. தொல், பொருள், 72, உரை.

243. குரவையாவது எழுவரேனும், ஒன்பதின்மரேனும் கைகோத்தாடுங் கூத்து (சிலப், ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவை: அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் உரை).

244. குன்றக்குரவை-சிலப், 24. ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவை-சிலப், 17.

However, *kulavai* is far too attenuated and altered to be called even the ghost of its former self. The rattling sound *ululu* made by women standing together on auspicious occasions, such as Pongal and marriage, is now signified by the term *kulavai*.[245]

Naḍam and *naḍai* are distinct words drawn from different sources. *Naḍam* signifies dance[246] and *naḍai* denotes walk. The popular confusion between *naḍam*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *naṭa*, and *naḍai* derived from the Tamil root *naḍa* has led to the application of the term *naḍamāḍal* to walking, and *naḍamāṭṭam* to the state of walking. Thus the expression *naḍamāḍa muḍiyātu* does not signify incapacity to dance but inability to walk.

SECTION III
DISCRIMINATION OF SYNONYMS

Most of the synonyms commonly so-called are really expressive of different aspects or qualities of the person or object denoted by them. The terms used with reference to the king, for instance, connote different aspects of royalty. The conception of the ancient Tamils that royalty was an institution indispensable for the welfare of society is reflected in the word *mannan* which signifies the king. *Mannan* is derived from the root *man* which denotes stability.[247] Monarchic institution was the supreme symbol of stability and continuity in the estimation of the ancient Tamil community.

The term *Kāvalan* obviously denotes the person who protects his subjects from internal and external enemies. The protector of Dharma, according to a great religious poet, is styled *kāvalan*.[248]

Vēntan is derived from a root which contains the sense of heat or fire. *Veyil, vēku,* and *vemmai* are derived from the same root. The king has to raise the rod with a severe brow for eradicating evil. It is

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245. குலவை < குரவை. Kulavai—Chorus of shrill sounds made by women by wagging the tongue, uttered on festive occasions—Tamil Lexicon.

246. வானரங்கில் நடம்புரிவான் இரவி-கம்ப, மிதிலைக்காட்சி, 153.

247. மன்னுயிர்ப்பன்மையும் கூற்றத்தொருமையும்-புறம், 19-3—(மன்னுயிர் = நிலைபெற்ற உயிர் உரை); மன்னுலகத்து மன்னுதல் குறித்தோர், புறம், 165, 1.

248. மாநிலங்காவலனாவான்.........அறங்காப்பானல்லனோ - பெரியபுராணம், மனுநீதிகண்ட, 86.

significant that in one of his couplets Tiruvalluvar employs the term *vēntu* when he refers to the king's duty of ruthlessly suppressing crimes and misdeeds in his country.[249]

Korravan is derived from the ultimate root *kol*. Military prowess was indispensable for the king in primitive society. The preservation of the autonomy of the state and the perpetuation of royal power and prestige depended to a very large extent on the heroism of the king. The sovereign who was accorded a pre-eminent place in times of peace was expected to lead the army and bear the brunt of battle in times of war.

Similarly, the words which denote wealth appear at first sight to be mere synonyms but will be found on closer examination to express different aspects or concepts of wealth. The word *celvam* (wealth) contains the idea of currency. A token coin or a coin that cannot be put in circulation is known as *cellā-k-kāsu* in popular parlance. The literal sense of the term *celvam* is employed by the Tamil bards to indicate the evanascence of wealth.

The idea that wealth is produced and increased by human endeavour finds expression in the word *paṇam*, which is derived from the root *paṇ*—to make.[250] 'Industry is the mother of prosperity' says a Tamil poet. The etymological sense of *paṇam* stresses the view that man is the maker of his own fortune.

The advocates of the doctrine of renunciation deprecated in strong terms the desire for wealth and condemned it as filthy lucre. Wealth was considered to be an obstacle in the way of the soul marching towards its destined goal of salvation. The desire for wealth was the 'snare of Satan' to keep the soul for ever in bondage. The poet has said, "Whatsoever thing a man hath renounced, from the grief arising from that, hath he liberated himself."[251] The doctrine which exhorted the mortals to lift their thoughts from the world of ignoble strife to the serene world of eternal bliss, was responsible for wealth being called *verukkai*, the cursed or detested thing.[252]

Māḍu is another term for wealth. "Among pastoral peoples wealth naturally consists in flocks and herds and wealth is counted by so many head of cattle. Thus the cattle became a kind of legal tender.

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249. கொலையிற் கொடியாரை வேந்து ஒறுத்தல்-திருக்குறள், 550.
250. Cf. Sanskrit, pana.
251. திருக்குறள், 616.
252. அந்தோ, ஐ, ஐ, இப்பொருளைச் செம்மையுடையோர் வெண்டுமெனச் சிந்திப்பரோ மறந்தும்-குசேலோபாக்கியானம், குசேலர் வைகுந்தம், 106.

This happened among the Indo-Europeans, and Indo-European languages have preserved many traces of this primitive state in which cattle, a man's only wealth were used as money."[253] This, according to Vendreys, is an instance of social factors influencing the evolution of vocabulary.

A careful consideration of the synonyms of the verb *col*—speak, will enable us to discover the distinctions existing between them.

Urai	comment, explain.
Aṟai	assert.
Paṟai	proclaim.
Pannu	repeat.
Kūṟu	speak in a logical or analytical manner.
Kuyiṟṟu	speak in a melodious voice.
Viḷambu	enlighten.
Iyambu	speak in a musical tone.
Cāṟṟu	advocate.
Miḻaṟṟu	speak in a pleasing manner.

The three words, *ī*, *tā* and *koḍu* are commonly considered to be synonyms, but there is a clear distinction between them. *Ī* is used when a person begs for a thing; *tā* is used when he asks for a thing; and *koḍu* is used when he demands a thing.[254] Thus the distinction is based upon the power and position of the person who addresses the word. The three words are assigned to the three possible positions which a man can occupy in his relations with his fellowmen, viz., inferiority, equality and superiority. The nouns derived from their verbal roots reflect these shades of thought. *Īkai* derived from the root *ī* is defined as 'the gift of a thing to the destitute.'[255] *Tarukai* derived from *tā* is used in connection with transactions in which one thing is given for another. The expression *varam-tarutal* signifies the boon granted to a person in return for the penance performed by him.[256] *Koḍai* formed from the root *koḍu* signifies a thing given to a person in power or authority. The

253. Vendreys, Language, p. 211.

254. ஈயென்கிளவி இழிந்தோன்கூற்றே - தொல், சொல், 445.
தாவென் கிளவி ஒப்போன் கூற்றே - தொல், சொல், 446.
கொடுவென் கிளவி உயர்ந்தோன் கூற்றே - தொல், சொல், 447.

255. வறியார்க்கொன்றீவதே ஈகை - திருக்குறள், 221.

256. விலைப்பொருட்டால் ஊன்தருவார் இல் - திருக்குறள், 256.
நாலுங்கலந்துனக்கு நான்தருவேன் ...... நீயெனக்குச் சங்கத்தமிழ் மூன்றும் தா - நல்வழி, காப்பு.

offering made to the village deities with a view to propitiating them is aptly termed *koḍai* for the deity is deemed to have the power of demanding it.[257]

Anpu and *aruḷ* denote soft-heartedness. But literary usage has established a distinction between them. Tirukkural suggested the distinction in a metaphorical way. The classical commentator of the Kural in which the phrase occurs, has explained the distinction between them which was perhaps not so clearly perceived till then.[258] According to him the tenderness which a person feels for his relations is signified by the term *anpu* and the compassion he feels for the animate world beyond the circle of relations is denoted by the term *aruḷ*.[259] Thus *aruḷ* is the quality of mercy which by its gentle touch makes the whole world kin.

The distinction between *vaḷakkam* and *paḷakkam* is identical with the distinction between custom and usage in law. Custom carries with it an idea of great antiquity. In law one of the essentials of a valid custom is that it must uniformly have existed from time immemorial. No such antiquity is necessary to prove a usage. *Paḷakkam* may therefore be defined as a uniform practice among a people or class with respect to certain matters or things.[260]

Uḍai; *Āḍai*: Although *uḍai* and *āḍai* appear to be synonyms, the former signifies cloth and the latter dress. The classical word *uḍukkai* refers to loin cloth. *Uḍuppu* means unsewn garment. The well-known saying '*Uṇpatu nāḷi, uḍuppatu nāngu muḷam*'—a measure of rice for food and four cubits of cloth for wear—illustrates the commonly accepted sense of the word *uḍai*, *Vaṭṭuḍai* is the name of a special dress which extends up to the knees, generally worn by the ancient warriors. The associations in which *uḍai* is used seem to show that it is worn close to the body. On the other hand *āḍai* appears to denote the dress put on for the sake of appearance.

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257. It is significant that the offerings made to the ferocious deities alone are known as koḍai. The huge quantity of rice and meat with which they are propitiated is called paḍaippu (படைப்பு).

258. தொடர்பு பற்றாதே வருத்தமுற்றார் மேற்செல்வதாய அருள், தொடர்பு பற்றிச்செல்லும் அன்புமுதிர்ந்துழி யுளதாவதாகலின் அதனை அன்பின் குழவியென்றார் (திருக்குறள், 757, பரிமேலழகர் உரை).

259. அருளுடைமை-அஃதாவது தொடர்பு பற்றாது இயல்பாக எல்லா வுயிர்கண் மேலும் செல்வதாகிய கருணை. இல்லறத்திற்கு அன்புடைமைபோல இது துறவறத்திற்குச் சிறந்தமையின் முற்கூறப்பட்டது (திருக்குறள், அதி, 25. தோற்றுவாய்).

260. Vaḷakkam and Paḷakkam are also used in the sense of habit and practice respectively.

The proverb 'உடை யுடையான் அவைக் கஞ்சான்'—a man well dressed does not feel nervous in an assembly—clearly brings out the sense of this word. *Pāvāḍai* literally denotes the covering cloth. It has acquired the special meaning of 'ladies under-garment.' *Cirrāḍai* is the saree usually worn by girls.

Ōsai and *oli* have acquired by usage distinct significations. The existence of this distinction has received sufficient recognition in ancient poetry. When the saint addresses the Lord as 'ஓசை ஒலியெல்லாம் ஆனாய் நீயே '261 it is obvious that he attaches distinct sense-values to these two terms. *Ōsai* conveys the sense of noise and *oli* signifies tone. The distinction between noise and tone may be stated in the words of Max Muller: "Noises such as the rustling of leaves, the jarring of doors or the clap of thunder are produced by irregular impulses imparted to the air. Tones such as we hear from tuning forks, strings, flute, organ pipes are produced by regular periodical vibrations of elastic air."262 It is possible that *Ōtai* is a variation of *ōsai* as the palatal and dental sounds are interchangeable in Tamil.

Aḷaippu formed from the verbal root *aḷai* means an invitation. The ceremonial invitation of the bride on the eve of her wedding is called *peṇ-aḷaippu*. In the speech of the northern districts of the Tamil country, however, it is almost synonymous with call. The expression *vara-v-aḷaittal* means only securing the presence of or producing a person.

Karai in the sense of call is confined to literary usage. The cawing of the crow to attract its kind is denoted by the term *karaital* in Tirukkural. The classical word for the light-house in Tamil is *kalam-karai-viḷakkam* which literally means ' the light that beckons the boat to the haven.' In Kannada *kare* is the ordinary word for call.

From the root *kū* the words *kūvu, kū-p-pāḍu, kū-kū, kū-vē-kū* and *kū-k-kural* are derived by the process of agglutination or reduplication. However, semantic discrimination has been effected by usage. *Kūval* or *kūvutal* is commonly applied to the warbling of birds and especially to the crowing of the cock. *Kūppāḍu* is shouting. In the speech of the southern districts, the imperative verb *kūppiḍu* means nothing more than call. Perhaps this usage owes its origin to the act of calling a man by shouting from a distance. The ancient method of calculating distance by means of the range of human voice at its highest pitch is reflected in the expression *kūppiḍu tūram*, *Kū-kū* and *kū-vē-kū* are shouts of alarm, and *kūkkural* is the voice of agony or

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261. தேவாரம் (திருநாவுக்கரசர்) திருவையாற்றுப்பதிகம், 1.
262. Science of Language, Vol. I, p. 94.

distress. In Madras *kūvutal* is sometimes applied to the voice of the hawker vending his wares in the street.

The principle of drawing a distinction between synonyms, is adopted in grammatical terminology for the purpose of denoting differences brought into existence by literary usage. *Viyam* and *ēval* are synonyms signifying command.[263] When grammarians were confronted with two forms of command, a command properly so-called and a polite command, they distinguished them by the terms *viyaṅgōḷ* and *ēval.* Thus, the verb in the imperative mood is *ēval vinai* and the verb in the optative mood came to be called *viyaṅgōḷ vinai.*[264]

Pakuti and *pāti* were originally synonyms. *Pākuti* has changed into *pāti* by the elimination of the medial vowel-consonant and the augmentation of the quantity of the initial vowel by way of compensation. The root of *pakuti* is *paku*[265] to split, separate or divide. Hence *pakuti* denotes a part or portion of the whole. In modern usage however *pāti* connotes an equal division or a moiety.

Santi and *anti* were originally identical in sense. It is probable that *anti* is a variation of *santi*, brought about by the elimination of the initial sibilant. A distinction between these synonyms was established in due course. *Anti* was confined to contact of time[266] and *santi* was generally appropriated to contact of place. The time which marks the contact of day and night is *anti*—the twilight. Santi refers ordinarily to a place where different paths meet.[267]

Eyiru in the sense of tooth is now confined to poetry and literary prose. *Īru* which is probably a corruption of *Eyiru* is commonly used to denote the gums of the teeth.

Distinction between synonyms is sometimes brought about by the elevation or degradation of one of them. The terms *paḍuttal* and *kiḍattal* were originally synonyms but a distinction has been established owing to the gradual deterioration of the latter. *Paḍukkai* and *kiḍakkai* formed from the roots *paḍu* and *kiḍa* denote the act of resting or sleeping. However, the word *kiḍattal* is now relegated to the vocabulary of the vulger dialect. *Kiḍai* derived from the root *kiḍa* clearly indicates

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263. வியம்-ஏவல்; மடியை வியங்கொளின் மற்றைக் கருமம், முடியாத
வாறே முயலும் - பழமொழி நானூறு, 167.

264. தொல், சொல், 222-226.

265. பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயிர் ஓம்புதல் - திருக்குறள், 322.
பாத்தூண் மரீஇ யவனை - திருக்குறள், 227.

266. அந்திக்கடை—Evening bazaar.

267. சதுக்கமுஞ் சந்தியும் புதப்பூங்கடம்பும்-திருமுருகு, 225.

the degree of its degradation. Although it retains its primary sense in poetry, common usage has confined it to the sheep-fold, *āṭṭu-k-kiḍai*.

Eating is denoted by the terms, *uṇ* and *tin*. The nouns formed from these verbal roots are *ūṇ* and *tīni*. *Uṇavu*, *ūṇ* and *uṇḍi* are synonyms. While these words retain their original meaning, *tīni* is now used mainly with reference to the food of animals.

The Tamil word *avā* and the Sanskrit derivative *āsai* were used originally as synonyms. Annihilation of desire is denoted by the expression *avā-v-aruttal* in Tirukkural.[268] In the exhortation *āsai-arumin*, *āsai* is used in the same sense.[269] Sita refers to her husband *āsayin-kani*—the delicious fruit of her desire.[270] But in modern usage *āsai* has acquired the meaning of improper or unwholesome desire. The distinction between the two words is clearly indicated in the compounds *pērāsai* and *pēravā*. Avarice is denoted by the former and intense desire by the latter. It is significant that *āval* which is a contraction of *avāval* [271] continues to bear the original sense of desire or eagerness. The connections in which *āsai* is used in modern parlance, clearly mark the extent of its degradation: e.g., *āsai-k-kiḻatti*—concubine; *āsai-nāyakan*—illicit lover; *āsai-maruntu*—love potion or philter.

When words bearing the same sense are drawn from different languages and are current side by side, a distinction is gradually established between them. The Tamil word *eṇṇey* and the Sanskrit derivative *tailam* are synonyms. The Sanskrit word for sesame is *tila* and hence the oil extracted from *tila* is known as *taila*. But *tailam* is hardly used to denote the gingili oil in the modern speech. Scented and medicinal oils are generally denoted by it.

The Sanskrit term *sthala* corrupted into *talam* is the equivalent of *iḍam* in Tamil. A distinction has gradually come into existence by which the Sanskrit derivative is confined to sacred and holy places while its Tamil equivalent continues to convey the original sense of place.

The Tamil word *arivu* and the Sanskrit derivative *gnānam* are synonyms. *Arivan* is used in poetry in the sense of sage; *arivunūl* is a book of knowledge. *Gnānam* also means knowledge; *Gnānēndriyam* is the collective name for sense-organs. Usage however has

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268. திருக்குறள், அதி. 37.

269. ஆசையறுமின்கள் ஆசையறுமின்கள்
ஈசனோடாயினும் ஆசையறுமின்கள் - திருமந்திரம், 2615.

270. கம்ப, மாயாசனக, 212.

271. In *avāval*—the elimination of the first vā is due to haplology; the increase in the quantity of the initial vowel is due to compensation.

restricted *arivu* to knowledge and *gnānam* to wisdom. Thus *arivan* denotes a man of knowledge and *gnāni* signifies a sage or a wise man.

The Sanskrit derivative *vittai* and the Tamil word *kalvi* are synonyms. *Vidyāsālai* derived from the root of the word *vittai* and *kallūri* derived from the root of the word *kalvi*, denote the school. Similarly *vittakan* and *karravan* signify the learned person. Popular usage however has restricted the term *vittai* to an act or craft involving subtlety or dexterity. The magician is commonly called *vittai-k-kāran*.

Loan-words are sometimes altered in accordance with the phonetic laws and tendencies of the language in which they are adopted and made the vehicles of different thoughts. The Sanskrit word *bāṇa* is current in Tamil in a double form viz., *pāṇam* and *vāṇam*. The labial and the labio-dental are interchangeable in Tamil and hence *pāṇam* and *vāṇam* are different forms of the same word. This difference in form has led to a difference in sense. In modern usage *pāṇam* retains the sense of arrow but *vāṇam* denotes the rocket. A display of fireworks is commonly known as *vāṇa vēḍikkai*.

The Sanskrit term *jala* is employed in two forms in Tamil, *jalam*—the tatsama form—signifies water; but *calam*—the tatbhava form in which the palatal surd has taken the place of the palatal sonant—is used with reference to the pus issuing from festered wounds.

The words formed by attaching different particles serving the same grammatical purpose, to a common root, are made the vehicles of allied but distinct thoughts. For instance, from the verbal root *vēḷ*, the nouns *vēḷvi*, *vēṭkai*, and *vēṭṭai* are derived. It is evident that these words have been formed by attaching different suffixes of the verbal noun to the common root. Though the three words contain the sense of desire, each of them is confined to a particular kind of desire. *Vēḷvi* denotes a sacrifice performed with religious zeal. *Vēṭkai* connotes sexual desire. *Vēṭṭai* signifies hunting. *Vēṭṭuvan* or *vēḍan* is the name of the hillman whose main occupation is hunting.

The term *yākkai* and *yāppu* are derived from the root *yā*—to bind together. But *yākkai* signifies the body and *yāppu* means metrical composition. The body has been conceived as a house built of bones and flesh, bound together by nerves and covered with skin.[272] This concept forms the basis of the term *yākkai*. In the composition of verse also

272. நரம்பினொ டெலும்பு கட்டி நசையினொ டிசைவொன் றில்லாக்
குரம்பைவாய்க் குடியிருந்து குலத்தினால் வாழமாட்டேன்—.
தேவாரம் (அப்பர்) திருவாரூர்ப்பதிகம், 5. (பெரியதிருமொழி,
59-ம் பாட்டையும் பார்க்க.)

a similar process is adopted. Syllables and words are arranged in a particular order, strung together by rhyme and alliteration and made the vehicle of thought. Hence metrical composition is signified by the term *yāppu*.

The words *curuḷ* and *curuṭṭu*[273] are derived obviously from a common root containing the idea of a roll but denote different objects by a variation of termination. A roll of palm leaves is called *olai-c-curuḷ*; a roll of betel leaves is known as *veṟṟilai-c-curuḷ* and so forth. Gold or silver coins rolled in a piece of yellow cloth and presented to the newly married couple on auspicious occasions is known as *curuḷ* in the Southern districts.[274] *Curuṭṭu* however is definitely restricted to cigar.[275] "It has passed into the English vocabulary in the form of cheroot but appropriated specially to cigars truncated at both ends.[276]

Variations in form caused by the operation of phonetic laws such as metathesis, prothesis and euphonic nunnation have brought about variations in sense:

(1) Metathesis:—

Visiṟi	Fan.
Siviṟi	Syringe.
Koppuḷam	Bubble.
Pokkuḷam	Boil.
Mukiḻ	Bud.
Kumiḻ	Bubble; knob.

(2) Prothesis with or without consonantal changes:—

Rāja (Skt.)	Rāsan	arasan	king.
Rāja (Skt.)	Rāyan	irāyan	Title of certain castes like Madhva Brahmins.
Rakta (Skt.)	Rattam	irattam	blood.
Rakta (Skt.)	Rattam	arattam	a garment.

273. Cf. இருள்—இருட்டு (irul-iruṭṭu)—darkness.

274. curuḷ—Presents with betel given to bride and bridegroom—Tamil Lexicon.

275. curuṭṭu (Tamil), curuṭṭu (Malayalam), tcutta (Telugu), cutti (Kanarese). In Telugu and Kanarese the radical consonant of the root is eliminated.

276. Hobson—Jobson.

(3) Euphonic nasalisation :—

Kūḍu	nest.
Kūṇḍu	covering.[277]
Aḍu	approach.
Aṇḍu	attach.
Taḍu	obstruct.[278]
Taṇḍu	collect.

Dimorphism due to different degrees of corruption, has served the cause of semantic distinction :—

Prosthapada (Skt.)	Purattasi (Ta)	The sixth Tamil month.
Prosthapada (Skt.)	Pūrattādi (Ta)	The twenty-fifth nakṣatra.
Srāvana (Skt.)	Sirāvanam (Ta)	A religious ceremony.
Srāvana (Skt.)	Āvaṇi (Ta)	The fifth Tamil month.
Lakṣana (Skt.)	Ilaṭcaṇam (Ta)	Beauty.
Lakṣana (Skt.)	Ilakkaṇam (Ta)	Grammar.

Distinction in form between Sanskritic and Prakritic terms employed in Tamil has contributed to semantic discrimination ;—

Sūnya (Skt.)	Sūniyam (Ta)	Witchcraft.
Sunna (Skt.)	Sunnam (Ta)	Cipher.
Varna (Skt.)	Varuṇam (Ta)	Colour.
Vanna (Skt.)	Vaṇṇam (Ta)	Beauty.
Ārya (Skt.)	Āriyan (Ta)	A man of Āryan race.
Ajja (Skt.)	Accan (Ta)	Father.

Semantic wear and tear is responsible for the existence of several pleonasms in the colloquial dialect of Tamil. For instance:

Cakaḍa-vaṇḍi,	cor,	Cakkaḍā-vaṇḍi	Country cart.
Ūtai-vāḍai,	cor,	Ūḷaivāḍai	Chill wind.
Kaḍuvan-pūnai,	cor,	Kaḍuvam-pūnai	Big cat.
Arai-nāṇ-kayiṟu,	cor,	Aruṇākayaṟu	Waist cord.
Cūṟā-vaḷi-k-kāṟṟu,	cor,	Cūrā-vaḷi-k-kāttu	Whirl wind.

In each of these compounds, the classical word which has lost its significance is followed and supported by its popular equivalent.

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277. A carriage with a covering overhead is called kūṇḍu vaṇḍi and a carriage without a top is commonly known as moṭṭai vaṇḍi.

278. Tamil Lexicon. It is possible that taṇḍai (anklet) is the nasalised form of taḍai (obstruction).

[illegible]

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